The FBI's Gray Da[redacted]

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—December 9, 1972, 50 cents

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

COMMENT *War Games in Europe, Preparing for Peace, Cabinet Changes, United Nations Dues, Winter Vacations*

BOOKS *Bernard Nossiter on Monopoly, James Walt on Modern Castaways, Allen Whiting on Chairman Mao*

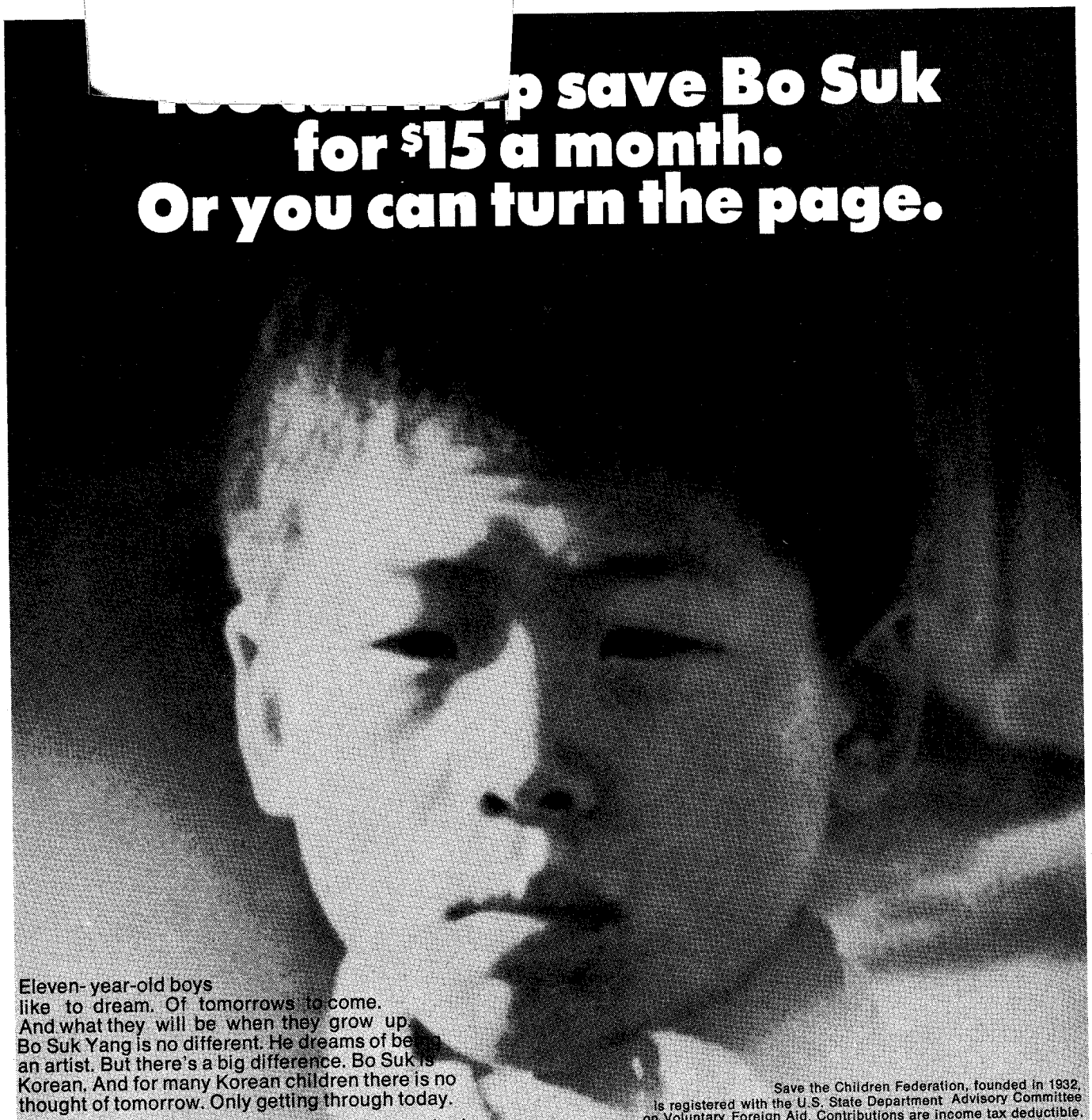
POLITICS *Paul Wieck on Coalitions, Robert W. Dietsch on Controls, TRB on The Remote Nixon*

FILMS *Stanley Kauffmann reviews Play It As It Lays & 1776*

THEATER *Robert Brustein—London*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[illegible]p save Bo Suk for $15 a month. Or you can turn the page.



Eleven-year-old boys like to dream. Of tomorrows to come. And what they will be when they grow up. Bo Suk Yang is no different. He dreams of being an artist. But there's a big difference. Bo Suk is Korean. And for many Korean children there is no thought of tomorrow. Only getting through today.

Getting through by sharing a small straw-thatched hut with his parents and three brothers and sisters. A stream for a water supply. Kerosene lamps to read by. No indoor plumbing. Surviving on an income of $210 a year Bo Suk's father ekes out farming his tiny plot of earth.

To dream is everyone's right. And Bo Suk deserves that right too. You can help buy a dream for a Korean child by sponsoring him through Save the Children Federation. Only $15 a month will help buy pigs to supplement the Yangs' diet and their meager income. And help keep Bo Suk in school. And help his little village of Iee Mai Ri to start a cooperative farm project.

Only $15 a month. To help a child, a family—indeed, an entire community—to help itself.

For you there are many rewards. The chance to correspond with a child. To receive a photograph. And progress reports. And above all, to know you are reaching out to another human being. That's how Save the Children works. But without you it can't work. So please: clip this coupon and mail it today. Now you can turn the page.

Save the Children Federation, founded in 1932, is registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Contributions are income tax deductible.

I want to sponsor a child and his ☐ her ☐ community.
My first choice is: ***Where the need is most urgent.*** ☐
☐ Domestic
(including Appalachia, Chicano, Indian, Inner Cities, Southern Black.)
☐ Overseas
(including Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, Middle East.)
Enclosed is my check for:
☐ $15 monthly ☐ $90 semi-annually
☐ $45 quarterly ☐ $180 annually
I know how important contributions are, so enclosed is my check for $_____.
☐ Please send more information.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

NR12/9/2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where does brain power come from?

The editors of Saturday Review proudly announce a new monthly magazine devoted to Education.

All through your life, environmental influences are having a profound influence on your ability to think and cope.

Formal education plays an important part in this process, but clearly, all of the answers cannot be found in the classroom.

So any inquiry into learning patterns must go beyond the classroom.

In addition, basic education is undergoing significant change at all levels.

The information explosion is partly responsible.

New technology plays its part. And educators are learning more about how people learn, and what they retain.

But the major change occurring in education today may be due to the fact that teaching methods which worked in America during the industrial revolution and the immigrant waves will not be relevant in the 21st Century.

Today, we are faced with education in the urban ghetto.

Retraining of workers who have been automated out of jobs. Overcrowded, underfinanced school systems. Continuing education beyond college, for people who need it, and for people who enjoy it.

Saturday Review has always had a strong franchise in the area of education. And now the subject has grown so rapidly, it's time we devoted a magazine to it.

So we've created a new monthly: Saturday Review·Education.

It explores the world of learning, and raises fundamental questions about the existing educational system, and the new directions education might take.

It has several editorial departments: Previews and Reviews, Life and Learning, Early Childhood, The Schools, Colleges and Universities, and People and Ideas.

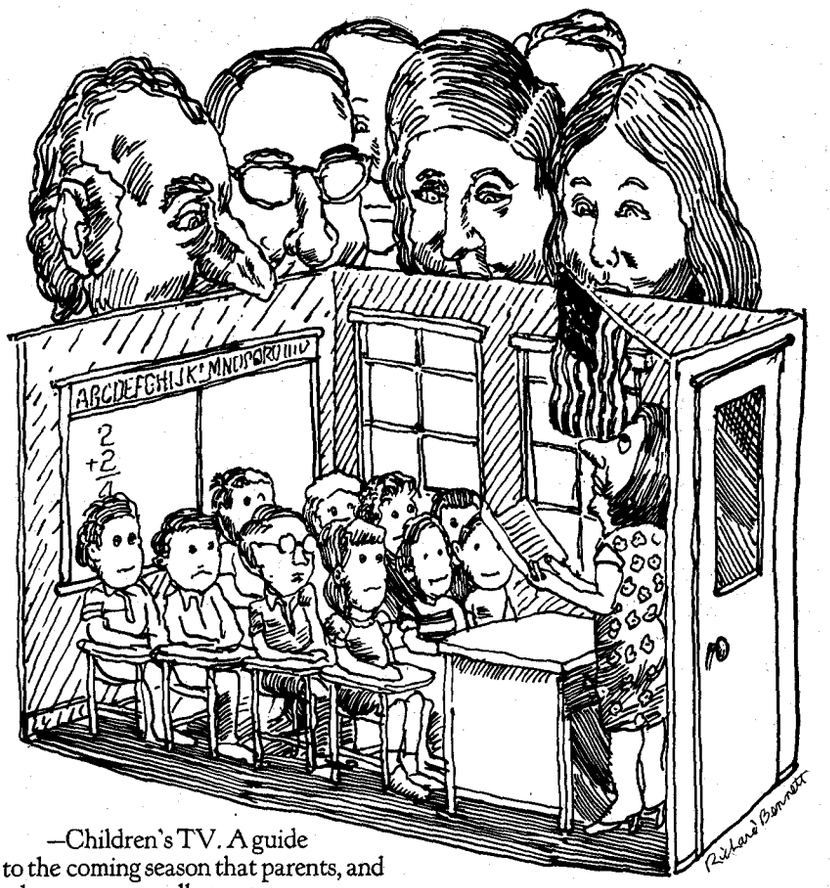
It examines how we learn, where we learn, and what we learn, and relates it to the new requirements of our society.

It does not restrict its attention to schools, colleges and other formal institutions, because we are constantly learning outside the classroom.

It is intensely readable, and exciting.

Here are some of the things you will read about in Education:

—Are "educational toys" really educational? Are they really necessary?



—Children's TV. A guide to the coming season that parents, and educators can really trust.

—The "blue-collar" colleges: as open admissions becomes policy in many colleges, what experience from the past will be significant?

—Do those "crash courses" for the College Boards really help?

—A head-start on Head Start: education begins in the home.

—Should schooling be compulsory? Direct reports from states where it is not.

—The school where 10-year-olds learn to master computers.

In addition, Education will carry features, puzzles, reviews, and editorials, of the kind that have made Saturday Review the brain-prodder it is.

We invite you to become a Charter Subscriber to Saturday Review·Education at the half-price introductory Charter Rate of $6 for 1 year (regularly $12).

It will increase your brain power.

Saturday Review
EDUCATION

Saturday Review
Box 2043, Rock Island, Ill. 61207

Dear Saturday Review,

Enter my introductory subscription to Saturday Review·Education at the Half-Price Charter Subscription rate of $6.00 for one year (regularly $12) with a guarantee that I must enjoy it or you'll give me a full refund.

☐Payment Enclosed ☐Bill me (Offer good only in U.S. and Canada.)

Name _____

Address _____

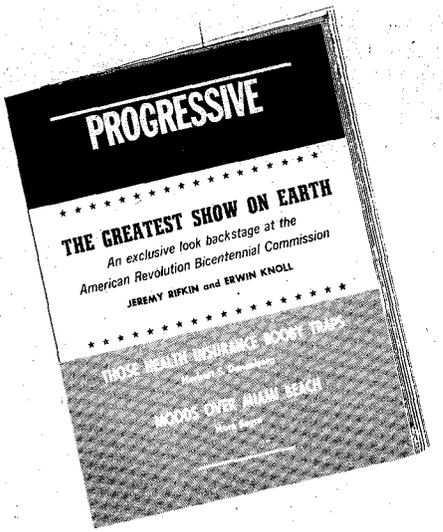
City _____ State _____

Zip _____ BMB2M017

If you are currently a subscriber to Saturday Review, SR·Education is already included in your subscription as part of SR's new total information program covering The Arts, Science, The Society, as well as Education.

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $15, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Second-class postage at Washington, D. C. and additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


PROGRESSIVE
THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH
An exclusive look backstage at the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission
JEREMY RIFKIN and ERWIN KNOLL

So . . . Who* needs a 64 year old magazine like THE PROGRESSIVE?

***People who want to be ahead of the times. Men and women who make the news, who want more than the TV specials, who require commentary and analysis on the events and trends of today and tomorrow. Men and women like Ralph Nader, William O. Douglas, Bella Abzug, George McGovern, Barry Commoner, John Kenneth Galbraith, Kay Boyle, Nicholas von Hoffman, and many others. Students, workers, professionals, civic leaders . . . from all walks of life, the fifty states, and 126 countries.**

Why not join them each month and read THE PROGRESSIVE'S informative, independent, pioneering journalism? These are just a few of THE PROGRESSIVE'S recent articles that would have kept you ahead of the times.

AS THE SUN SETS ON COCA COLA
Milton Mayer

THE GREAT PENSION FRAUD
Ralph Nader

THE EROSION OF LIBERTY
Neil Sheehan

THE NEW NOSTALGIA
Nora Sayre

POWs: PAWNS IN POWER POLITICS
Richard Falk

INSIDE CHINA TODAY
Paul Pickowicz

OUR STRICKEN SCHOOLS
Mark Shedd

LOVE AND HATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Georgie Anne Geyer

THAT NEW SOUTH
John Egerton

THE BLUE COLLAR YOUTH REBELLION
Andrew Levison

AMERICA'S SECRET WAR
Fred Branfman

THE BLACK REVOLUTION
Charles V. Hamilton

WOMEN'S LIB ON CAPITOL HILL
Judith Nies McFadden

ISRAEL'S BLACK PANTHERS
Judith P. Miller

NEW VIOLENCE IN FILMS
Kenneth Turan

HIGH COST OF SECRECY
J.W. Fulbright

THE PEOPLE AND THE PROSECUTORS
Herbert Mitgang

Introductory Offer
with a Full Money Back Guarantee
10 Months of THE PROGRESSIVE $6.00

THE PROGRESSIVE
408 West Gorham Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

105

KEEP ME AHEAD OF THE TIMES.

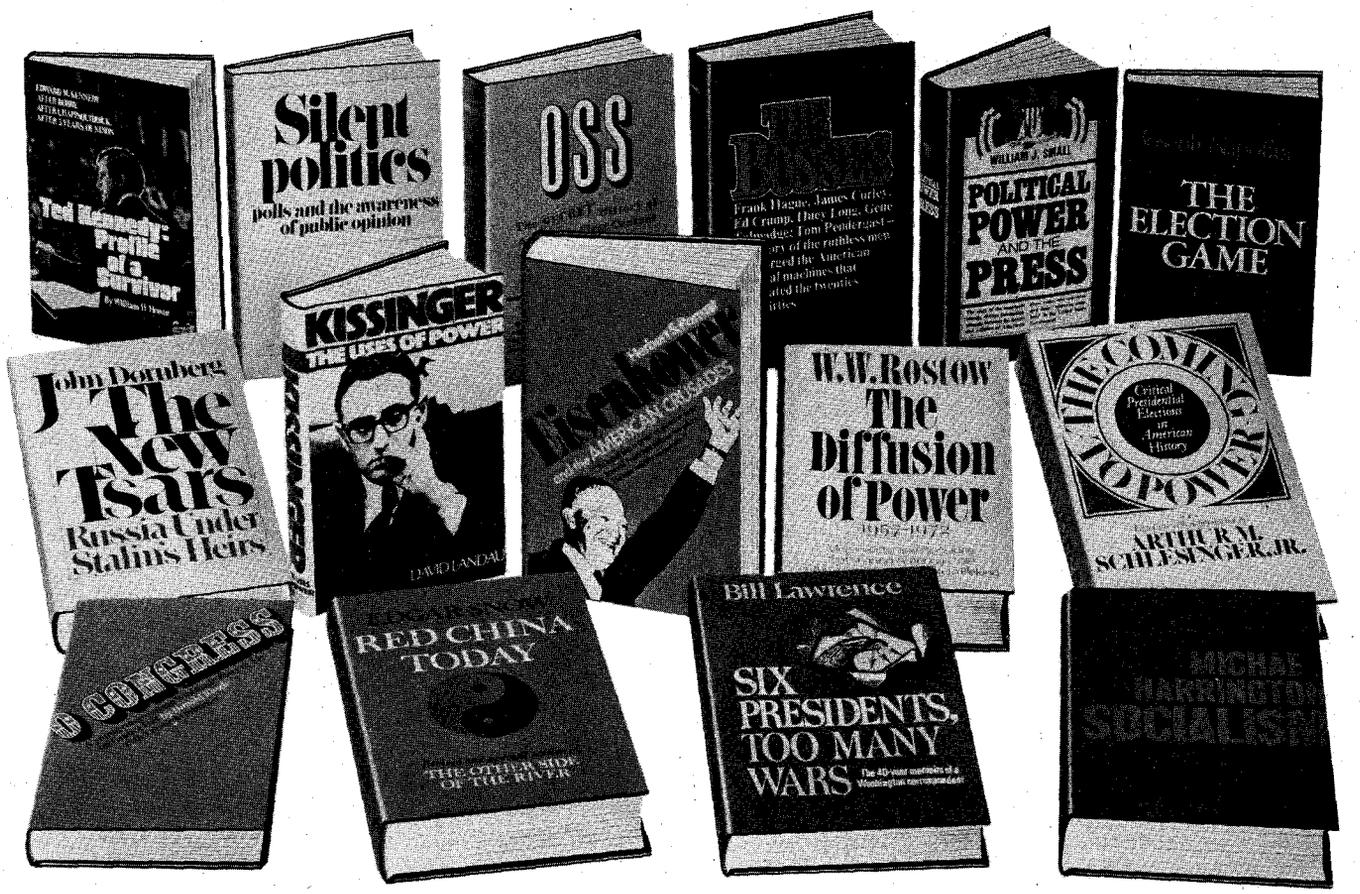
Enclosed is $6. Send THE PROGRESSIVE for 10 months to:

Name.....

Address.....

City, State, Zip.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Which 3 of these 30 books on the important people, events, directions and disasters of our curious times have you missed? Choose any 3 now for only $1 each (values to $54.00) plus a free gift (worth $12.50)

as a member of The Library of Political Affairs

if you will join now and agree to accept only 3 more books in the next 12 months, at member discount prices.

73670. RED CHINA TODAY. *Edgar Snow.* **$20.00**

65170. O CONGRESS: A Young Congressman's Intimate Diary of Life on Capitol Hill. *Donald Riegle.* **$7.95**

79080. SOCIALISM. *Michael Harrington.* **$12.50**

82681. TED KENNEDY: Profile of a Survivor. *William H. Honan.* **$6.95**

42221. A DICTIONARY OF POLITICS. *Walter Laqueur.* **$14.00**

57290. KISSINGER: The Uses of Power. *David Landau.* **$5.95**

70041. THE PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTER. *James David Barber.* **$10.00**

53681. HOW THE GOVERNMENT BREAKS THE LAW. *Jethro K. Lieberman.* **$10.00**

69381. POLITICAL POWER AND THE PRESS. *William J. Small.* **$8.95**

40740. COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND REVOLT. *Herbert Marcuse.* **$7.50**

74360. THE ROOTS OF WAR: The Men and Institutions Behind U.S. Foreign Policy. *Richard J. Barnet.* **$10.00**

58230. LET HISTORY JUDGE: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism. *Roy A. Medvedev.* **$12.50**

84190. THIRTY YEARS OF TREASON; Excerpts from Hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities 1938-1968. *Eric Bentley.* **$20.00**

FREE gift if you act now:

ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS *Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa* **$12.50.** One of the most useful references you can own on everybody who is anybody in the entire political scene. Rave reviews in all major media.

73710. REGULATING THE POOR. *Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward.* **$10.00**

69920. THE POLITICS OF UNREASON: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970. *Seymour Martin Lipset & Earl Raab.* **$12.50**

50550. GREAT ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. *Morton A. Kaplan.* **$12.50**

37940. CHINA AND RUSSIA: The Great Game. *O. Edmund Clubb.* **$12.95**

44060. THE ELECTION GAME. *Joseph Napolitan.* **$6.95**

36650. BOTH YOUR HOUSES: The Truth About Congress. *Warren Weaver, Jr.* **$7.95**

78360. SILENT POLITICS: Polls and the Awareness of Public Opinion. *Leo Bogart.* **$9.95**

43980. EISENHOWER AND THE AMERICAN CRUSADES. *Herbert S. Parmet.* **$12.95**

42241. THE DIFFUSION OF POWER. *W. W. Rostow.* The shaping of America's role from Sputnik to Peking. **$12.50**

39611. THE COMING TO POWER: Critical Presidential American Elections in American History. *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.* **$12.50**

36750. THE BOSSES. *Alfred Steinberg.* The ruthless men who forged the machines that dominated the 20's and 30's. **$8.95**

55340. IN SEARCH OF NIXON. *Bruce Mazlish.* **$6.95**

(retail prices shown)

66490. OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency. *R. Harris Smith.* **$10.95**

78460. SIX PRESIDENTS, TOO MANY WARS: The 40 Year Memoirs of a Washington Correspondent. *Bill Lawrence.* **$8.95**

64551. THE NEW TSARS: Russia Under Stalin's Heirs. *John Dornberg.* **$10.00**

70110. POLITICAL HYSTERIA IN AMERICA. *Murray Levin.* **$8.50**

24000. THE SUPERLAWYERS: The Small and Powerful World of the Great Washington Law Firms. *Joseph C. Goulden.* **$8.95**

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

The Library of Political Affairs, Riverside, N.J. 08075 F-771

Upon acceptance of this order, please enroll me as a member and send my free copy of The Almanac of American Politics—plus the 3 books I have indicated. Bill me only $1 each, plus postage and handling. If not delighted, I will return all books within ten days and this membership will be cancelled.

As a member, I need accept only three more selections during the next 12 months at reduced member prices, plus postage and handling. Savings range up to 30% and occasionally even more. I understand that I will receive free advance Reviews which fully describe each month's Main Selection and Alternates. If I wish the Main Selection, I need do nothing and it will be sent automatically. If I prefer an Alternate—or no book at all—I need only return the convenient reply card you send me by the date specified. Send no money. Members are billed when books arrive.

3 books for $1.00 each. (write in numbers)

_____ _____ _____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

(Offer good in Continental U.S. and Canada only. Prices slightly higher in Canada.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington
December 2, 1972

The Remote Nixon

It was one of the weirdest sights we had ever seen, going into the basement press room of the Executive side of the White House last week and hearing a voice coming out from a loudspeaker and seeing all our newspaper colleagues (there must have been 75 of them) scribbling like mad with hardly enough attention to spare to make a space for a latecomer. It was Ron Ziegler's voice. He was speaking from the President's retreat at Camp David, a drive of an hour and a half away, and the connection wasn't good but you could catch most of it though not the questions that were being put to him by the handful of reporters actually there.

The day before Mr. Nixon himself had spoken, and the same hectic, unique scene occurred back home at the White House as the disembodied presidential voice was piped in from the distant mountain top.

Washington has the capacity to surprise the observer, yes, even after many years. There are new, astonishing things that you would not suppose would happen: the day before, Mr. Nixon explaining why he had retreated to the mountain, and now Ziegler's voice announcing the names of the new Cabinet, to be followed by similar scenes thereafter: Elliot Richardson, the handsome Boston Brahmin to succeed Melvin Laird as secretary of Defense, where it will take every bit of his character to control the brass; Caspar Weinberger, now director of the Office of Management and Budget to succeed Richardson as secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. In our contacts with Weinberger we have found him charming, and we have come away stunned at his economic views. He is the budget-trimmer; Mr. Workfare himself. He is called "Cap the Knife" at OMB. He made his reputation as economizer in California where he wound up as Governor Reagan's director of finance. Governor Reagan, if anybody, knows how to get poor people off the welfare rolls, and now Weinberger is to be put right at the top of the HEW pyramid of social welfare legislation of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and, before them, Truman and FDR.

The cliché of the moment is the Nixon election comment that you can't solve social problems by "throwing dollars at them." This banality sounds fine until you examine it. The corollary is of course that if you *don't* spend money the problems will go away; don't repair the roof and it will stop leaking. This kind of argument is twaddle. The administration itself doesn't believe it—instead of cutting back money on defense it is going to increase defense spending and "throw more dollars at it" even if Vietnam is solved (and it doesn't look solved at this writing).

Mr. Nixon, the most aloof President in history, now explains his partiality for his retreat in the Catoctin Mountains, Maryland. He gave a press interview there to discuss the situation; an interview at which nobody was allowed to ask questions. He would be using Camp David frequently in this way "over the next four years . . . I find that up here, on top of a mountain, it is easier for me to get on top of the job," he said whimsically. In a more serious vein he continued, "I find that getting away from the White House, from the Oval Office, from that 100 yards that one walks every day from the President's bedroom to the President's Office, or the extra 50 yards across to the EOB (Executive Office Building), getting away gives a sense of perspective which is very, very useful."

Well, we are not going to try to psychoanalyze the President, and we certainly hope that this change of scene will help with the work; it is important to all of us, for he has more power, probably, than any other human being, and there is considerable evidence that he will gather in more power, or try to, in the next few years.

It must feel good to be in a retreat away from the city traffic, away from city slums, away from embarrassing questions, away from the irksome tyranny of petty things, breathing the unpolluted air, thinking great thoughts and knowing the exhilaration of solitary power. Like the man who made a better mousetrap, the world will certainly beat a path to his door. "I developed that pattern early in the administration," Mr. Nixon told his handful of immediate reporters at Camp David and the others listening in back in Washington, "and I am going to follow it even more during the next four years."

We'll get used to it, no doubt. But it is a bit strange—seeing the reporters scribbling like mad to catch the words of the man on the mountain top with his yellow tablets.

There is a militancy in Mr. Nixon's post-election mood that is worth noting. At 1:20 in the morning of October 18, the House overrode his veto of the clean rivers bill, 247-23, and 10 minutes later the Senate followed suit, 52-12. The law authorizes $18 billion in federal money spread over three years to help states and cities clean up lakes and rivers. Anticipating the veto, Mr. Nixon last October said that even if Congress "defaulted" its responsibility he wouldn't default his. Now Mr. Nixon announces that he will only spend 40 percent of what Congress authorized, and he so directs Environmental Protection Administrator Ruckelshaus.

Ruckelshaus, curiously enough, favored the expenditure. In a 33-page letter to OMB director Weinberger, Ruckelshaus "strongly" recommended that the President sign. It wouldn't be inflationary, he said, because actual expenditures for waste treatment projects would be spread over 1976-1981. He thought it "reasonable" to spend "two-tenths of 1 percent of the gross national product . . . to assure future generations the very survival of the gross national product."

Ruckelshaus shifted step very quickly and now opposes the expenditure. But that isn't the point. The assertion of the President's power to hold back, or impound, funds that Congress has voted now moves out of theory into specifics. Congress was emphatic about this program. There is some fancy legal footwork involved because it did give the President a degree of discretion, though not this much. The constitutional test may come from a state suing for the full amounts authorized by Congress. Mr. Nixon has thrown down the gauntlet to the 93rd Congress even before it convenes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 167, No. 22, Issue 3022, December 9, 1972. Published weekly (except the issues of January 1, July 29, August 12, August 26, and December 23, 1972) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢; Yearly subscriptions $15; Foreign $18; Armed Forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright 1972 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

Contents

4 Comment
War Games In Europe, Preparing for Peace, Cabinet Changes, Winter Vacations, United Nations Dues
4 Why Business Likes a Controlled Economy—*Robert W. Dietsch*
5 Coalition Politics—*Paul R. Wieck*
7 The FBI's Gray Days—*Walter Pincus*
1 Feiffer
2 Films—*Stanley Kauffmann*
3 Theater—*Robert Brustein*
4 Books—Reviews by *Bernard D. Nossiter, James Walt, Allen S. Whiting, Jamie Kalven*
1 Poem—*Stephen Dunn*
4 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief—Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor—David Sanford
Literary Editor—Reed Whittemore
Associate Editors—John Osborne, Walter Pincus
Staff Writers—Thomas Geoghegan, Eliot Marshall
Assistant to the Editors—Gwen Somers
Assistant to the Literary Editor—Dianne Ferriss
Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Doris Grumbach, Gerald W. Johnson, Peter J. Ognibene, John Seelye, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
Films and Theater—Stanley Kauffmann
West Coast Editor—Peter Barnes
Production Manager—Mary Henninger
Assistant Production Manager—Ellen Cochran Hicks
Publisher—Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager—Mary Kurtz
Business Manager—Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Assistant Business Manager—Constance Cole Twining
New Republic Feature Syndicate—Elizabeth A. Scanlan
Advertising and Promotion—Ilene Briggin Kahane
Receptionist—Ruby McGowan

War Games In Europe

World War II seemed to come a little nearer its end last month when the two Germanys initialed a peace treaty between them that stopped just short of formal recognition. Chancellor Willy Brandt's deal, which he hopes the Bundestag will ratify by Christmas, traded away a goal whose most ardent advocates were in Washington and Bonn—a reunited Germany. It was a goal that never appealed to the Soviet Union and scared many of the Western allies who paid it lip service. When the left, for the first time in the 23 years of the Federal Republic, won a majority in what was called a plebiscite on Brandt's policy of reconciliation with the East, those in NATO and in the Warsaw Pact who saw "revanchist" Germans as unstable super-patriots bent on recovering national glory, were confounded. The Germans seem prepared for peace, even if it is the Peace of Augsburg—a Hapsburg bargain with the Protestants that kept Germany divided for 300 years. East Germany, today the most prosperous and industrialized state in what was once called "the Communist world," feels more secure. East German leaders believe they've won at least the grudging confidence of the Prussian technocrats who man the economy; and with that, Party Chairman Honecker was ready for his version of Westpolitik—the formula of two states in a single nation, each nonforeign to the other, with certain freedom of movement for East Germans and guaranteed access to Berlin. More or less recognized as Bonn's equal and as a sovereign state, Pankow has lost much of its stake in prolonging the Cold War.

The German treaty takes much of the excitement out of the all-European security conference going on in Helsinki. The Soviets, who had pressed for the conference so hard for so long, may come to regret it; at best they can only get multilateral endorsement of what Brandt has already accepted: recognition of the Oder-Neisse line and the inviolability of the "demarcation" of Germany. East Germany's new status exacts a price from the Russians, for the two Germanys have been set free to deal with each other, and as Johns Hopkins Professor Robert Osgood notes, they "will start to get together in a way that will surprise everyone." For Western countries, the recognition of East Germany has the value of making a realistic arms agreement more likely. But in the long run of detente, as it plays itself out along the territorial divide of Europe, it is more significant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Eastern European capitals have closer ties to Bonn. The Soviets have exploited fears of "revanchist Germany" to justify Big Brother's military and political presence in Eastern Europe. Now Big Brother will have to look for new ways to insulate its protectorates from too much contact with Western culture.

Meanwhile, the Soviets must struggle with their own severe economic crisis. They have fallen behind the East Europeans in industrial development and would like the Helsinki conference to help them break into Western capital markets. The USSR would benefit from imports of machinery from the West Germans and the export of bulk raw produce like natural gas. By dint of its own industrial progress, East Germany has moved from puppet to junior partner, and with East Germany the military mainstay of the Warsaw Pact, the new detente may give the Russians pause. Already the Romanians have used the Helsinki forum to denounce the Brezhnev Doctrine of the right-to-intervene, and in this the Romanians speak for countries like Hungary, cautiously experimenting with a few economic freedoms. It would be understandable if the Kremlin concluded that the time to bring its troops home is not now. Moscow considers the forward deployment of 20 Soviet divisions in East Germany essential to its hegemony, which is why it may prove awkward to talk about Mutual Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) in Central Europe. The Russians' reluctance is not unique. There are some in NATO who would not mind if the talks went on for a decade—and they might.

If that sounds flip, consider that SALT I, which involved only two countries and five weapons systems, took two years to complete. SALT I, like Brandt's Ostpolitik, was a simple exercise in bilateral diplomacy, but MBFR takes in a dozen nations, and among the different weapons systems and materiel of NATO and the Warsaw Pact it is hard to say what one means by "mutual" and "balanced" reductions. Does "reduction" for the USSR mean pulling back its troops 300 miles to a rear area like European Russia? With the Urals so close, it is a fine line between the "stationed" forces of the Soviet Union and the indigenous ones. Then, too, the US share of NATO manpower is far smaller than the Soviet share in the Warsaw Pact—how is that to be mutually balanced?

Pondering such problems, the British and French governments are uneasy about MBFR. At worst, an agreement would phase out the American military presence in Europe, and that, the French fear, will force them back into some sort of European defense community, which they don't want. The British in turn see the prestige of their "special relationship" with the US bound up with the size of the US expeditionary force in Germany. And on top of all that, Nixon and Kissinger want to continue dominating a cohesive NATO defense during this era of protracted negotiations. It is another "bargaining chip" for the second round of SALT talks.

The near success in the Senate earlier this year of the Mansfield amendment to cut back US forces in Europe made MBFR a domestic political necessity. The amendment may have lost only because Brezhnev blundered by endorsing MBFR right before the Senate voted. Senators like Mansfield and Proxmire saw themselves making a modest budgetary request that our prosperous allies contribute more to their own defense; they confidently expect the Europeans to pick up the slack if 150,000 American soldiers come home. That confidence is not reciprocated in Europe, however. Had the Mansfield amendment passed and been implemented, it would have likely set off a chain reaction of further unilateral troop reductions throughout Western Europe: West European publics are no fonder of defense budgets than the American public. West Germany, for example, can hardly muster the political will to keep its Bundeswehr up to full strength; a booming inflationary economy and broad pacifist sentiment are checks against bigger military spending. The French aren't eager to climb into the trenches with Italians and Germans. Like the British, they are for MBFR talks only, as Harvard Professor Abram Chayes points out, because "they can't be *against* them."

For the US to budget for a large ground war in Central Europe seems a foolish addition to an expensively budgeted nuclear deterrent that has as its precise aim the prevention of just such a war. And yet, US forces in Europe are a comfort just the same to many Europeans. They reason that the more live American bodies between them and the Russians, the more live wires there are to trip even an isolationist America into coming to Europe's rescue. Furthermore, NATO's defenders argue, the peace *has* been kept for 27 years in Europe, and it must be presumed that the US military presence has contributed to that happy fact no matter what revisionist historians say. Why tinker with a proven balance of power? The answer is that the dangers today are not perceived to be the same as they were under Stalin. The golden age of NATO *has* passed, trailing behind it a generation of NATO foreign ministers who may talk in terms of 1948, but who know we are in a quite different situation. All these men need are enough American hostages in Germany to give them peace of mind; determining that number is the task of MBFR.

The Brezhnev Doctrine poses a real security problem, but in light of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 it is hard to see what military relevance NATO has in this area. If it wants to take the pressure off Eastern Europe the most NATO can do is scale down its confrontation with the Warsaw Pact and ease whatever restrictions remain within all of Europe on trade and travel. If the East Europeans do free themselves to be themselves, they will do it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slowly, almost imperceptibly. A military confrontation with NATO only makes it easier for the Russians to obstruct that progress.

An "Ostpolitik" from NATO, comparable to Brandt's, will take coordinated diplomatic daring, and MBFR is a divisive issue. The talks may in time produce a weapons "freeze" or an exchange of observers, some tit-for-tat to divert the media. But it may prove harder to divert the Congress, which seems to expect MBFR to reduce the US defense budget—for reasons we do not fathom. So far, it should be remembered, the NATO allies have merely spoken of withdrawing troops, not demobilizing them, and it costs more, not less, to maintain 150,000 Americans in Fort Bragg than it does in West Germany. MBFR will shift troops, not defense burdens.

Should it get caught up in the SALT negotiations, held concurrently in Vienna, MBFR bargaining could become serious. SALT, as the acronym suggests, has thus far dealt with "strategic" nuclear weapons systems. MBFR, in theory, takes up conventional and "tactical" nuclear weapons systems, of which the US has 7000 in Europe. But a nuclear bomb is a nuclear bomb whether it arrives by plane or ICBM "payload," and the Soviets demanded at SALT I that the US count as "strategic" any nuclear weapon targeted at the USSR. It makes no difference to them if it comes from the continental US or Western Europe. The Atlantic Council reports that there is "probably more nuclear megatonnage stockpiled in NATO Europe than along the strategic ICBM belt in the United States." In turn the Russians can match these Forward Base Systems with 700 medium- and intermediate-range missiles aimed at Western Europe. In any trade worked out at SALT II, they may demand the inclusion of the British and French nuclear forces—all of which will affect the credibility of NATO's much weaker conventional deterrent. As Alastair Buchan concluded in these pages last summer: "The Soviets by dangling the prize of a real reduction in strategic arms, of which they now have the larger inventory, can sow serious distrust between the US and her European allies, and among them, in a way that was not possible in SALT One."

At the strategic level, then, MBFR will involve tough, bitter bargaining among the NATO allies over the best way to deploy their Forward Base Systems. In the shuffle between SALT and MBFR, the question of conventional troop reductions may end up on the back burner. That should satisfy the USSR, which probably is loath to add the risks of troop reductions to the risks of East-West detente in Eastern Europe. The 69 divisions and the 14,000 tanks of the Warsaw Pact will stay in countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland, where they will not bother the 38 divisions and 5500 tanks of NATO stationed elsewhere, and no one will pay much attention. Except perhaps, sooner or later, the American Congress.

Preparing for Peace

Twelve days before a majority of voters in 49 states cast their ballots for President Nixon's reelection, Henry Kissinger, the White House foreign policy spokesman, told reporters that the Vietnam war "is drawing to a conclusion," that "an agreement is in sight," and that "what remains to be done can be settled in one more negotiating session with the North Vietnamese negotiators, lasting, I would think, no more than three or four days, so we are not talking of a delay of a very long period of time." We commented at the time that the early achievement of a cease-fire and settlement would depend on whether Kissinger was right in his conviction that "our discussions with Saigon will produce agreement within the same time frame that I have indicated to Hanoi."

Kissinger's sanguine assessment, influenced in no way, he said, by the forthcoming American election, now appears to have taken too little into account the Presidents of the United States and of South Vietnam. The President of the United States has been notably reserved about the nine-point agreement reached with Hanoi, stating only that the US would not be rushed into any premature accord, and indeed Mr. Nixon has not been rushed. The President of South Vietnam has been less reserved; he has repeatedly said that an agreement between Washington and Hanoi would not necessarily bind his government, and that he, Thieu, would oppose a cease-fire that did not in effect recognize the partition of Vietnam and that did not require, as the nine-point plan did not, the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the South. By the time this is read, an accommodation among all the interested parties may have been reached and the deadlock broken, but as of last week deadlock was still an accurate description of the state of negotiations.

Meanwhile, during the three weeks following the President's reelection, from November 7 through November 27, the pounding of Vietnam was as unrelenting as at any time since the war started. Figures on the bombing are imprecise, for all we know is what the officials tell newsmen. According to that information in the daily press, in those 21 days there were 521 attacks on the North by American-piloted B-52s that dropped close to 28 million pounds of bombs, and 593 B-52 flights over the South that let loose over 31 million pounds of bombs. B-52s fly at altitudes of 30,000 feet or more, so their pinpoint accuracy is not to be relied upon. The bombers did not, of course, unload their explosives evenly across the entire North and South. Had they done that, they would have dropped about 450 pounds of bombs on each square mile.

In addition to the B-52 raids, there were 2100 fighter bomber strikes against the North, 1394 against targets in the South, frequent aerial raids on Laos and Cambodia, as well as continuous US naval shelling of Viet-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nam from the sea.

Other preparations for peace also came to light in those three weeks. A 2000-plane South Vietnamese air force is contemplated; it will be the fourth largest in the world and its pilots will be trained by the US, some in this country. On November 26 it was reported that 50 C-5 cargo jets, 200 C-142s, 50 Pan American, Flying Tiger and World Airway jets on Defense Department contracts had been unloaded in Saigon in one of the biggest airlifts of the war. About 30 C-130 cargo planes were turned over to the South Vietnamese, and the timetable for deliveries of other planes had been speeded up—A-1, A-37 and F-5 fighter bombers, AC-119 gun ships and EC-47 electronic spotter planes, along with helicopters. *The New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, James B. Sterba, reported November 26 that the current inventory of all South Vietnamese military hardware provided by the US included 1500 artillery pieces, 400 tanks, more than 1000 armored personnel carriers, 60,000 field radios, and 750,000 M-16 rifles—most of this having been delivered by the navy "before the speedup began three weeks ago."

Two days earlier, on November 24, it was disclosed that a substantial American military presence will remain in Thailand for an indeterminate period after a Vietnam cease-fire, permitting the US to respond "in an armed way" throughout Indochina to any violations of a peace accord. US forces on Thai soil will include B-52s and fighter bombers, 40,000 US servicemen, and US army and counterinsurgency experts to train Laotians, Cambodians and possibly South Vietnamese.

Cabinet Changes

From the President's mountain top, the woodsy aerie at Camp David where Mr. Nixon says he gets "a sense of perspective" and an objective view of his problems and challenges that he doesn't get at the White House, the shape of the second-term Cabinet and administration begins to emerge. George Romney is leaving Housing and Urban Development, with minimal regret on both sides. Elliot L. Richardson goes from HEW to Defense, succeeding Melvin Laird; Caspar Weinberger from the Office of Management and Budget to HEW; Roy Ash, one of the President's favorite millionaires, from Litton Industries, which according to the market readings hasn't done consistently well under his management, to OMB and an assignment to improve the management of the federal government. Other changes are announced, one or two a day, at a pace calculated to keep alive for awhile the impression of motion and excitement that the President counts on to convince the public that he in his next term is headed uphill, not downhill, and that he and his men are going to stay on top of their jobs instead of letting their jobs—and that maligned beast, the federal bureaucracy—get on top of them.

The transparent contrivance of the whole business gives us a numbing sense that it doesn't mean as much as the President wants everyone to think it means. And yet, some meanings and portents are apparent. Granting Mr. Nixon the truth of his claim that he isn't trying to concentrate more power than he has now in himself and the White House, we judge that he is setting himself to exercise the power he has more directly and effectively, with less chance for obstruction beyond and below the White House level, and to do it through compliant subordinates in Cabinet and sub-Cabinet spots who will do what he wants done in the way he wants it done while leaving him free to deal with what he calls "the great decisions." Elliot Richardson, a man of some personal integrity, will be spared the humiliation of tolerating cuts in HEW social programs that he could not possibly welcome and, at Defense, may be expected to lend an aura of good intention to the military expenditures that the President thinks essential. The successor at HEW, Caspar Weinberger, may be counted on to hack away at that department's bureaucratic maze and at its budget levels with a genuine conviction that the way to save our society is to save our money. "He's the kind of guy," an OMB associate has said, "who will cut you

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

off welfare and then put you on his payroll." Roy Ash at OMB has to mean that the President is determined to accomplish, by administrative fiat from the center, the departmental and bureaucratic consolidations that a council headed by Ash recommended in 1970 and Congress has failed to enact. Ash himself, in public appearance, is an inexhaustible fount of stupefying banalities such as—quoting one of his more inspired observations—that government has a lot to learn from business. The charitable view is that Mr. Nixon must know something about Mr. Ash that others who have worked with him in his advisory capacity at the White House have yet to learn.

Peter Brennan, president of the New York (city and state) construction trades councils, replaces James Hodgson at the Labor Department. His selection is a bow to AFL-CIO President George Meany, who likes Brennan and detests Hodgson and was "neutral" for Nixon against McGovern in the presidential campaign. It's also a bow and accolade to and for Brennan himself, who won Mr. Nixon's gratitude in 1970 with a hardhat demonstration in favor of the President's Vietnam policy and the Cambodia invasion and it's a part of the bid for middle-American support in the second term.

"Aerie" is our word, not Mr. Nixon's, for the Maryland mountain preserve whence came his Cabinet and other appointive announcements. But we suspect that he'd enjoy one of the dictionary definitions of the word. It is: "The nest of a predatory bird, as the eagle, on a crag."

Winter Vacations

If you live in New York but hanker to be skiing in Colorado, United Air Lines will fly you there for a bargain price this winter—if you find it possible to depart on a Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday and return on one of the same three weekdays a week later. The savings is $85.90 off the customary round-trip fare of $234. If Puerto Rico is to your taste and you can leave on a Thursday or Friday and return the following Sunday or Monday, you may qualify for Eastern Airlines' weekend special $100 round-trip ticket. The savings is $37.60. Such fares appeal to travelers who want to save money and to the airlines which during non-peak travel periods have a hard time filling planes. The restrictions attached to promotional fares however exclude most business trips and flights by persons able to schedule travel only during school vacations, at Christmas (December 15-January 5) or other holidays. At these times promo fares are "blacked out."

If you want to go from New York to Paris for Christmas you'll have to pay the regular fare, which for airlines belonging to the International Airlines Tariff Association (IATA) is $452 round-trip. Currently, however, the IATA airlines claim to be offering special, relatively inexpensive Group Inclusive Tour fares to Europe. This winter, says a Pan American World Airways ad, "Pan Am has One-Weeker vacations in 18 European cities. All at the lowest possible prices. And prices include round-trip air fare and land arrangements." The ad which has been appearing regularly in newspapers since September 20 and which ran November 26 in the travel section of *The New York Times* offers a week in Paris for $300. The price includes air fare, a "first class" hotel room with bath, tours, a car and breakfast every day. The ad says the fare is valid from November 1 to December 14 and January 5 to March 31. The trip must last seven or eight days. Those are the only stipulated qualifications. Similarly, TWA, in an ad that appeared, among other places, in the November 21 *Washington Star-News*, states it will fly you New York to Paris for one week during the same period as Pan Am for the same $300 fare. TWA throws in a cruise on the Seine and tea at Galleries Lafayette. The *Star-News* advertisement mentions in small print that fares are from New York rather than Washington. Otherwise no other qualifications are stated. American Express currently advertises that it will book you for the same sort of trip at the same price on any of a number of airlines, *and* you can charge it all on your American Express card.

There are, unfortunately, two rather important, unmentioned hitches. No one who read the ads published since mid-November and decided on that basis to take a trip at the special rates will be able to qualify for flights at any time in 1972. Last week we phoned the tour departments of TWA and Pan Am and attempted to book flights at the special promotional fares. TWA refused to sell us a ticket: "We can only accept bookings if we have 30 days' notice from the departure date." For a would-be traveler calling TWA in Washington on November 27, the first available flight would be January 6. (Remember December 15-January 5 is the holiday "blackout" period.) What's the point, we asked, of advertising fares in a November 21 newspaper and saying that they are available all during November and the first half of December when it is not true that they are? "I can't answer that question," said the polite young woman, "because I don't know who puts out the ads or for what purpose." TWA in New York had the same story and couldn't explain why TWA would bother to buy an expensive ad in last week's *Time* advertising the availability in November and part of December of fares no one now can book. Why doesn't TWA correct its advertising and state straight out that the fares are not now available until January 6; why doesn't TWA mention in its advertising that all flights must be purchased a month in advance? In response to our queries TWA's director of leisure marketing, Scott Supernaw, promised that his airline's ads will be corrected—next year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United Nations Dues

The UN last week was asked to lower the US assessment to support the United Nations general budget from 31.5 percent of the total to 25 percent. According to one official, the US had long planned to reduce dues to this level; 1972 seemed like the right moment to make the push. East and West Germany are expected to join the world organization soon, and when they do they will underwrite about eight percent of the UN budget. Six percent of this saving should go to reducing our bill, the US government says, and the remaining two percent should be divided among the entire membership.

But the Nixon administration gives an added reason for wanting to pare our contribution: the "mood of the nation" demands a tougher attitude toward the UN and its upkeep. If this reading of mood is accurate, America has become spiteful. For if assessed solely on the basis of wealth, the United States would pay 38 percent of the UN bill, not at the rate of 31.5 percent as we have since 1957. In 1971 the US share of a $192 million operating budget was about $56 million. (This doesn't include $219 million contributed voluntarily by the US to independent projects like UNESCO, World Health and relief for Bangladesh refugees.) The reason the small nations are asked to contribute more is that this is supposed to make them feel more responsible for keeping the UN alive.

As a peace investment, the UN is one of the cheapest. Its gross budget for 1972 is $208.7 million, and the US would, if present assessment schedules are maintained, be expected to contribute $63.9 million. That would buy just a fraction more than one C-5A transport plane, the giant air force cow, and the air force wants 81 of them. Or take the F-14 fighter planes, currently going for about $12.5 million each: Congress approved a $1 billion installment in 1972 for building them, a project that may cost more than $8 billion before it's done. Then there are the F-111s that keep dropping out of the sky, worth about $15 million apiece; the government has promised to buy more than a thousand of these. Putting these war machines to use rings up the debts faster. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee estimates that in Indochina alone, the United States spent about $20 billion a year from 1965 through 1971 to sustain friends and put down enemies. Handing out arms to more peaceful friends costs about $1.5 billion a year.

If the defense budget doesn't show the UN to be a rare investment, then consider how UN employees and diplomats spend their money. Neither the New York department of commerce nor the UN has reliable statistics, but a fair estimate is that more than 5000 people (4386 regular employees and at least 660 diplomats) are associated with the UN's New York headquarters. If each spends $5820 annually in New York and environs—the income of an average man, woman or child in Westchester—then the UN contributes altogether about $30 million a year to the US economy. And that doesn't count the phone bill, or the tourist income. Who knows—if all were counted, the UN might prove to be a profit-maker for America.

Why Business Likes A Controlled Economy

Wage-price controls will be around for another year or so. This White House with its fondness for freely competitive markets and this President who wants to give his people more responsibility fear that an end to controls would uncork the fizz of inflation. But why are businessmen so gung ho about the idea?

The answer, I think, is twofold: 1973 will see some of the heaviest labor bargaining since World War II, and businessmen want the Pay Board's guideline to use as a doorstop against the unions' push. To the union which wants more than 5.5 percent in wage increases, management negotiators can shrug their shoulders and say, the government won't let us. Secondly, Phase Two has proved less onerous to business than executives anticipated. The wage control side has been effective because it is in the self-interest of employers to comply. There is no such self-interest, of course, on the price control side.

The Price Commission's complex regulations in general allow a company to pass along higher costs in the form of higher prices; there is little or no inducement in the regulations to persuade the company to keep a sharp eye on its internal costs and efficiency. In a study published by the Brookings Institution, author Barry Bosworth says that "for firms with a strong market position, raising prices is an easier way than cutting costs to achieve satisfactory profits." Bosworth, who thinks Phase Two has worked primarily through the wage side, says the Price Commission's rules on the way higher costs can be passed through as higher prices "is so difficult to administer as to be unworkable for manufacturers. Any decision on allocating the joint operating costs and overhead costs of multi-product firms is so arbitrary as to give individual firms wide discretion in their justification of price increases. Once the Price Commission becomes entangled in the web of accounting problems involved in dealing with an individual firm, it is at a severe disadvantage, for it will never understand the firm's operations as well as the firm's own managers do."

The price regulations have built-in incentives for price collusion. Again, Bosworth: "Firms do not fund short-term debt into long term because the former is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an allowable cost and the latter is not. On the profit side, interest on borrowed capital is not a part of profits, but the return on a firm's own capital is. Maintenance and other activities of a semi-investment nature can be accelerated while the Price Commission is in existence, with the consequent shifting of profits into the future in anticipation of its demise."

C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., the Price Commission chairman, cautions that "the notion that you need controls to protect you from the other guy could become ingrained in our thinking." The longer such belief persists, Grayson says, the tougher it will be to end controls. He fears this "control-us psychology" will become so cemented in corporate suites that "we could find ourselves unable to do without controls." Along this line, Senator William Proxmire, when faced with the US Chamber of Commerce's support of controls, commented that it "makes me wonder if the controls aren't really becoming a shield for business which protects them from having to rely on competition and from having to rely on their own initiative in negotiating with labor."

It should be clear by now that different sectors of the economy have different characteristics and need different public policies. Industries which are sufficiently competitive need be subjected to a minimum of controls, or perhaps none at all; others dominated by a few firms or protected by government actions to limit competition (as oil and steel are protected through quotas) should face stiffer controls than the ones they face today. A government incomes policy might well be tied to government changes in import controls, use of stockpiles, subsidies and price supports to stabilize markets.

Robert W. Dietsch

MR. DIETSCH *writes for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.*

There Is No New Majority

Coalition Politics

by Paul R. Wieck

Before November 7, there was a lot of chatter about the white, ethnic vote in the industrial areas of the North being *the* swing vote this year. Sometimes it was, but it wasn't always part of the winning coalition. Again, we were told the Wallaceites in the South were the key and that to succeed, the Democrats must nominate candidates who could hold that vote. In some states, that proved true; in others, not. Or that the youth vote, particularly on the campuses, would rewrite the rules. Often, they did. But not always. Ditto, the black vote, the Spanish-speaking, the suburbanites, the farmers and ranchers. Not everything can be explained in terms of the arithmetic of coalitions. The personalities of the candidates and the appeal they have or lack as individuals obviously affects outcomes too. I focus here however on voter categories and how they behaved November 7.

If you were to single out one contest to epitomize the widely held belief that racial fears of the working class in the industrial centers would be decisive, it would have to be the fight between Edward Hanrahan, the Democratic incumbent, and Bernard Carey, the GOP nominee, for state's attorney in Chicago's Cook County. Dumped by the Daley organization, Hanrahan ran on his own in the primary and swept aside both an organization opponent and a reformer. On Nov. 7, Hanrahan scored heavily in the white ethnic wards of Chicago and made deep inroads in the working class suburbs to the west of the city. But as the returns poured in, a coalition new to Cook County politics formed to give Carey the victory. As expected, Carey swept the affluent and traditionally GOP suburbs north of Chicago, his margins bettered by the influx of Jewish voters to that area in recent years. He carried all seven Lake Shore wards in Chicago populated by affluent liberals—five on the north shore and two on the south shore. To cap it off, he cracked open the 15 black wards (out of a total of 50 in the city) and carried 62 percent of that vote for 58,000 of his 129,000-vote majority.

Carey wasn't the only beneficiary of ticket-splitting in the Lake Shore and black wards; the returns show that these voters *had* a ticket but it didn't follow party lines. McGovern won them all, carrying black wards

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with 91 percent and the Lake Shore precincts by varying margins. Republican Senator Percy rolled up huge majorities along the Lake Shore and carried the 15 black wards by 1193 out of some 260,000 votes cast. *Then*, the black wards gave the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Dan Walker, 83 percent and he took all but one of the Lake Shore wards.

Walker went on to forge his own statewide majority by taking 60.6 percent of the Chicago vote, 40.8 percent in the Cook County suburbs and a surprisingly strong 49.6 percent downstate where he pulled thousands of small town and rural voters over to his column by walking tours that took him to 500 to 600 small communities, most of which hadn't seen a statewide candidate in decades. These same downstate voters gave Nixon and Percy commanding majorities everywhere except in black and students' precincts!

The white ethnics who voted for Hanrahan contributed heavily to the Walker win; but they also helped pad the majorities of Nixon (59 percent in the state) and Percy (62 percent), although both men failed to carry most of the wards and precincts heavily populated by Hanrahan supporters.

Across the South, no one pattern predominated in 1972. Georgia gives us a splendid example of contradictions when we lay side-by-side the returns from the Nunn-Thompson Senate race and the Young-Cook race for Congress in Atlanta. Nunn unseated Sen. David Gambrell (D) in the primary by pitting rural and small-town white votes against the candidate of the Atlanta metropolitan area. Nunn stayed out of the black area, choosing to ride the coattails of the McGovern-Young ticket in Atlanta and McGovern and other local black candidates elsewhere. It worked. He not only swept black districts in Atlanta but won Fulton County, his Republican opponent's home territory, 83,000-74,000, thus breaking the back of the GOP nominee.

Meanwhile, Democrat Andy Young, the first black from the deep South to be elected to the House of Representatives in this century, fashioned a different kind of coalition. He won overwhelmingly in Atlanta's black areas, captured about 30 percent of the white vote, mostly young professional people, union members, students. In a few white precincts around campuses, he picked up 46 to 47 percent, while in the "silk stocking" eighth ward on the North Side of Atlanta, he received 27.7 percent of the vote. He won by nearly 10,000 votes.

Just the opposite happened in North Carolina where Republican Sen.-elect Jesse Helms, a highly vocal and conservative radio commentator from Raleigh, started with a substantial basic GOP vote—the mountain counties in the western part of the state and the more affluent Republicans in the growing metropolitan areas. He needed to add one more group to his coalition and it wasn't difficult to find. Helms scored heavily in the Klan-infested mill towns of the Piedmont (the area just beyond the mountains) and picked up a lot of conservative Democratic votes in the eastern part of the state. His defeated opponent, Nick Galifianakis (D), had the moderate Democrats, blacks, students. That support enabled him to carry such major cities as Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Durham plus Chapel Hill. But it wasn't enough.

The more smashing GOP victory came in neighboring Tennessee where Sen. Howard Baker (R), a moderate in the Southern context, formed a completely different coalition that returned him to the Senate with 62 percent of the vote. After losing three straight statewide elections with liberal candidates, the Democrats decided to give the conservative establishment in the party a sort of "last hurrah" by letting Rep. Ray Blanton (D) have the honor of opposing Baker. Blanton comes from the cotton counties in the western part of the state, traditionally Democratic and segregationist. It was just that—a "last hurrah." Baker came out of GOP strongholds in the mountains of east Tennessee with an unreal majority—some 172,000 from three congressional districts. As he moved west, Baker's majorities dropped but he still carried every congressional district, losing only a few west Tennessee counties by small margins. Baker carried the student vote comfortably and picked up an estimated 40 percent of the black vote. But ponder this: At Wharton School in Nashville, a black area, McGovern won 881-64 while Democrat Blanton was held to a 425-237 edge. In a Nashville upper-class ward, Nixon won 1376-267, but Baker overwhelmed the conservative Blanton 1489-190. In one ward around the University of Tennessee, McGovern won 1523-1256; Blanton lost to Baker 1567-1007.

New coalitions also appeared in the Rocky Mountain West where Democrats scored upsets.

For a model of ticket-splitting, nothing equals the race of Rep. Teno Roncalio (D, Wyo.) a highly vocal opponent of the Vietnam war, long-time friend of the Kennedy family and a McGovern backer at Miami Beach. Nixon carried Wyoming 100,000-44,000, while Republican Senator Clifford Hansen won reelection 101,000 to 40,000. Then, 35 percent of the people who voted for Nixon and Hansen crossed over to give Roncalio a 75,000-70,000 victory, his biggest in three successful races for the House. His margins came from the cities—Cheyenne, Laramie, Casper (the hometown of his opponent and normally Republican), Rock Springs. Meanwhile, he lost in three smaller, marginal counties that have almost invariably gone for a Democratic winner.

In Colorado, it was the vote in metropolitan Denver that gave Democratic challenger Floyd Haskell his stunning upset victory over Republican Senator Gordon Allott. Haskell carried the metropolitan area (260,000-244,000) by holding down GOP majorities in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suburban Jefferson and Arapahoe counties; winning Boulder, once a GOP stronghold but moving toward the Democrats with the addition of a huge student vote at the University of Colorado; and carrying Denver and Adams County, both normally Democratic, by comfortable margins. He also beat Allott in El Paso County (Colorado Springs), a GOP stronghold, and in other Democratic or marginal areas such as Pueblo and Grand Junction. His final majority: about 9000. Environmental issues played a big role in this victory.

But in Idaho and New Mexico, a comparable coalition failed. In Idaho, the Democratic candidate for Senate ran almost even in Ada County (Boise), a GOP stronghold. Usually, that means a Democrat is close to winning. But the normal Democratic majorities in the mining counties of northern Idaho didn't materialize, and the Republican won. In New Mexico, GOP Sen.-elect Pete Domenici broke up a heretofore winning combination for Democrats, splitting the Spanish-speaking vote in "the north" of the state right down the middle and carrying most of the East Side counties (his opponent's home territory), where conservative Democrats with ranching and oil interests predominate. Domenici won Albuquerque, normally Republican, by a comfortable margin (16,000). But it wouldn't have been enough if the Democrats had held together their coalition in the northern and eastern counties.

Through it all, one group of voters was consistent—the students clustered around major campuses, plus some smaller campuses with liberal academic traditions. They supported McGovern. They rejected conservative or establishment-type Democrats (Pucinski in Illinois, Blanton in Tennessee, Franzenburg, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Iowa). They tended to vote with major winners at a state level. They also looked after their own interests.

Over the last decade, many campus communities have had difficulties with the local power structure. Students appear to be very aware of who makes and enforces the laws, and after voting their own ticket at the top of the ballot (McGovern, Percy, Walker in Illinois, for instance), they paid close attention to two kinds of local races—prosecuting attorney and state legislature. Democratic candidates took the prosecuting attorney's post away from Republicans in a number of communities with large student votes—Champaign and Carbondale, Ill., Ames, Iowa, Boulder, Colo. In Champaign, students helped elect a young black Democrat to that office; in both Champaign and Carbondale they helped elect legislative candidates, some of them recent graduates. In Ames, a heavy majority helped Ruth Harkin, 28-year-old wife of Tom Harkin, the man who discovered the tiger cages and went home to run for Congress, win her race for county attorney. At the same time, Iowa students voted for a 21-year-old student who won election to the legislature as a Republican. Last but hardly least, students at Northwestern (in Evanston) and the University of Chicago (Hyde Park) contributed significantly to Carey's winning majority in the Cook County state's attorney's race. Once all the returns are analyzed, state-by-state, it's probable that leaders of both parties will find it prudent to offer the kind of candidates who can make it on the student slate.

The variety of coalitions in 1972 offer few clues for building a majority in the '70s. They offer only this solace: Despite the overwhelming mandate for Nixon-Agnew, the die isn't cast. The voters are still busy rearranging themselves.

Is He the Man for the Job?

The FBI's Gray Days

by Walter Pincus

On May 14, 1968, by a vote of 72-0, the United States Senate approved an amendment to the Omnibus Crime Control Act, requiring that future directors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation be confirmed by the Senate. Senator George Murphy of California, a chief sponsor of the legislation, summed up the sentiment of his colleagues at the moment: "It is much too important a position to be included in [a] classification where Congress has no voice in his selection." Added Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, "I doubt that there is any more important position in our government. I doubt that any office in our government can have such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a great effect on the lives of individual citizens as that of the FBI Director."

It is good to recall the words of these conservative gentlemen as we await Mr. Nixon's final selection of J. Edgar Hoover's successor. For hardly a voice has been heard from left or right about the temporary appointment and performance of Mr. Nixon's friend and "acting director," J. Patrick Gray III.

The silence is not because the legislators know all about Mr. Gray and are satisfied. Little is known of his background and most of that has come from Gray's own mouth. As for his seven-month performance as "acting director," only those inside the FBI could factually testify to that—and it is hard to believe that an agent, inspector or assistant bureau director would come forward to oppose Gray—no matter what the merits—were his name to be sent to the Senate by the President.

But a memo of complaints against Gray *has* been put together from within the bureau. It represents in part the biased and shortsighted views of old-time Hoover aides who would be put off by any successor chosen from outside their ranks. Nevertheless the two-page memo must seriously be considered, by the President initially and by the Senate Judiciary Committee eventually as they ponder replacing a man who ran his agency for almost 50 years with almost no outside interference.

"Morale in the FBI," the memo begins, "is at an all-time low point." It notes that some of Hoover's top aides have already resigned and that "a large percentage have indicated they will retire shortly after the first of the year. (It is advantageous both tax-wise and retirement-wise to delay until after January 1973.)"

"Chief opposition to Gray," the memo continues, "grows out of his handling of personnel matters involving three special agents in charge and an assistant director." Under Hoover, agent transfers, demotions and promotions were ruthlessly effected, yet the director in almost every case kept the information within the family. It was the agent involved who went to the press. In the minds of these old Hoover men, Gray broke a sacred rule when he gave newsmen the backgrounds of transfers of his Honolulu, Los Angeles and Washington special agents. Present and past FBI agents who support Gray say they are bothered by the way he handled the matter in public. "In each instant," the memo says, "Gray personally leaked details to the press . . . giving the official no chance to respond. This airing of linen has resulted in strong resentment on the part of agents throughout the organization. . . . They also resent his arrogance in thinking he could leak these stories without the agents or the public being aware he was the source—at the very least his actions demonstrate naivete and non-professionalism."

The nonprofessionalism charge is picked up in a discussion of Gray's personal staff—"three young lawyers he brought with him from the Department of Justice. None have had law enforcement or investigative experience and know absolutely nothing *re* intelligence work." It was one of Gray's assistants, David D. Kinley, who set in motion a 14-city request for bureau agents to suggest material for use in President Nixon's campaign speeches in response to a memo from White House assistant John Ehrlichman. That was considered an unheard-of use of the bureau for partisan ends.

An official who worked closely with Gray during 1969 when Gray was executive assistant to HEW Secretary Robert Finch believes his great strength there was the care with which he organized Finch's time and, through associates within the department, kept Finch fully informed of what was going on. "Each night he would take into Finch a list of 13 or more items that had come up during the day. It was priceless information to a busy cabinet secretary." The same individual says Gray's own staff seems incapable of performing that same role for him. "A deep distrust exists," the memo states, "between Gray's personal group and the professional staff—their sole aim is to advance Gray personally, no matter what the cost to the organization. It is inevitable that the Bureau organization will make every effort to prevent a continuance of Gray's tenure."

In a slightly different vein, the memo alleges, "Most unfortunately, Gray has become completely obsessed with the appurtenances of power and authority left by [J. Edgar Hoover]." It goes on to note Gray has kept Hoover's three Cadillacs and added two Mercurys; hired a full-time $10,000 a year steward (supposedly a former Navy mess boy) to prepare lunches in the new kitchen built off his office; and has flown around the country using an air force jet, often starting or ending the trip at his Stonington, Conn. home.

He has visited all but a few of the bureau's 59 field offices, accompanied by his wife where, says the memo, "he gives the same speech in each office." During the political campaign he used the visits to make public speeches to local Rotary or other service clubs in which he mentioned the benefits of the Nixon administration.

As for organization, the memo criticizes "his complete lack of management experience. . . . Committees abound, endless inane discussions but no decisions. . . . His frenetic schedule is aimless and has resulted in no significant accomplishments."

Gray disagrees with the latter point. He has put together, and shown to newsmen, his own list of changes made since he took over the bureau. High on the list are the hiring of female agents, initiation of an equal employment opportunity office staffed by a black and a white agent, easing of the tight haircut and dress rules. Even construction of his office kitchen is listed.

Who is correct about Gray's performance? And if he is nominated how can the Senate committee get at the root of the old agents' complaints? And is it enough to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

examine Gray's seven months on the job? What about his background?

From the files of the New London *Day*—Gray's hometown newspaper—we can begin to piece together his past. An item on January 10, 1961 announced that Louis Patrick Gray III, "a member of Vice President Nixon's campaign staff" and resident of New London for five years had joined the law firm of Suisman, Shapiro and Wool as an associate. The biography that followed noted his education at the Naval Academy, service aboard a submarine during World War II, law school as a navy postgraduate student at George Washington University (graduated with honors, law review and a specialty in trusts and taxation), service as executive officer of a sub tender stationed in New London and final navy duty in Washington in the late 1950s as military law assistant to the chairman of the joint chiefs and aide to Secretaries of Defense McElroy and Gates for congressional presentations. Gray resigned from the navy in June 1960 to work as "special assistant to (then Vice President) Nixon handling matters involving national defense, the national economy and campaign organization."

According to a New London lawyer who was well acquainted with Gray at the time, the Suisman firm was and is "very prosperous." Gray's role was mostly that of "in-office law," real estate, business, wills and trusts, including a great deal of work with nearby navy personnel but little actual court work.

News stories over the next few years in the *Day* focussed on Gray in Republican politics and as a small business entrepreneur.

On March 29, 1961, the paper announced he had been appointed to a voluntary public relations committee being established by Connecticut Republican state headquarters to assist in the upcoming elections. Little more than one month later he was appointed New London city chairman for the Mobilization of Republican Enterprise, an effort to recruit and train party workers in each of the state's voting districts. A year later, he made the paper again, this time as chairman of the Mariani for governor campaign committee. Peter Mariani, the local state senator from Groton ran unsuccessfully in 1962 for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. During the campaign Gray was quoted as saying the state GOP "is fighting hard against bossism, bureaucracy and Baileyism," a reference to the then-Democratic national chairman, John Bailey, who controlled the party in Connecticut. In 1963 Gray attended a political workshop in Hershey, Pennsylvania sponsored by the national Republican citizens committee and was named chairman of the GOP Finance Committee in New London.

From 1964 onward, Gray's involvement in local politics took a backseat to his business activities. In 1961, when he left Washington and joined the firm, he had been instrumental in establishing Pequot Capital Corp., a small business investment company (SBIC) with ownership held substantially by the members of the law firm. Initially, Gray was executive vice president of Pequot, but in 1964 he became president. Like other SBICs, Pequot was established with private capital ($150,000) and under relatively new legislation additional capital from the Small Business Administration. The aim of SBICs such as Pequot was to invest venture money through loans or stock purchase in small businesses. Pequot was apparently quite successful. By 1967 when it merged into another SBIC—Capital for Technology Corp.—people were referring to it as a $2 million operation and Pat Gray was the merged company's vice president, general counsel and its moving force. In 1968 Gray was named to the board of directors of the national small business investment company association.

The 1968 campaign came along and Gray again joined the Nixon organization, writing position papers. In an interview with the New London paper on the night of Nixon's '68 victory, Gray said he thought he would get a position in the administration, "somewhere in defense, somewhere in the Small Business Administration and maybe within his personal staff." He ended up as Robert Finch's executive assistant at HEW, and although the post didn't appear to be as high as he had hoped, Gray described it to a newspaper interviewer as sitting in the "focal point" of the Nixon administration. "In official Washington," he said, "when anyone wants to see the secretary—except the undersecretary—he has to go through me. And in the absence of the secretary, I do the same thing for the undersecretary."

A year later, Gray quit "for personal and business reasons" and returned to New London and his law firm. His father and brother had died and this meant increasing responsibilities. During the following year he did some chores for the President's Cabinet committee on school integration—a job which took him to the South to set up committees of community leaders to sponsor court-ordered school desegregation.

Throughout 1970, he made a number of speeches to public groups on subjects ranging from the Nixon administration to foreign policy to education. He served on the board of Capital for Technology and was named to the advisory board of Hartford National Bank & Trust Company, an honor reserved for local

COMING: Peter J. Ognibene reports on the losing battle to cut off traffic in heroin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blue-chip businessmen.

In December he was back in Washington as assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Civil Division. Gray described the job to his local paper as running the "largest of the nine divisions" within Justice. The position he said, was "the most challenging an attorney could ask for." In that same interview he picked up a theme he replayed after being named to the FBI post: "I never considered myself a politician," and termed the Justice Department "apolitical" in nature. Before taking up his new post in Justice, however, Gray found time to help the newly elected Republican governor of Connecticut, Thomas Meskill, set up his administration.

On August 19, 1971, Gray told the New London paper how he was about to become one of the most powerful men in the country: he had just been given the task of serving as "chief watchdog during the wage-price freeze." One week later, as he began a two-week vacation, he gave another interview on the economy ("I just don't think we're ever going back to the laissez-faire situation before the President's message.").

Gray is said to have become impatient with the civil division post, and in January 1972, Connecticut Senator Lowell Weicker, after consultation with Gray, recommended him for a vacancy on the second circuit court of appeals. Shortly thereafter, his career took another turn. John Mitchell moved over to run the Nixon campaign, Richard Kleindienst moved up to attorney general and Pat Gray was named deputy attorney general, the number two job in Justice. His appearance on February 23, 1972 before the Judiciary Committee took less than 20 minutes. In answer to a question from Senator Hruska about his private practice, Gray stressed that he "tried very few cases in civilian courts in the state of Connecticut. I primarily devoted my attention to corporate law, the law of federal securities, trusts and taxation."

Before Gray could be sworn in, Hoover had died and Gray was named "acting director" of the FBI.

On that first May weekend after moving over to the bureau, Gray was back in Stonington and came down to the New London newspaper's offices for questioning by three reporters. According to those present he was elated over his new job. He had had a long Saturday lunch with his former law partners and was feeling what the old agent memo termed the "power and authority" of his post. He described his return to Connecticut in Hoover's bullet-proof Cadillac and said he had called Washington from the New Jersey Turnpike to get information on two airplane hijackings. The reporters put that anecdote in the lead of their story only to have Gray call their office after publication and ask that a retraction be printed saying he had returned home in his own car and only used the Cadillac for security reasons in Washington. Not true, the reporters present still say, but their paper, sympathetic to Gray, printed it anyway.

Gray also said, in response to criticism that he was an administrator with no law experience other than civil, "that's not correct, the bulk of my experience has been in criminal law." His statement two months earlier to Senator Hruska had been filed and forgotten.

In response to a suggestion that he got the FBI job because of his relationship with Mr. Nixon he said: "No, I have no close personal relationship with the President. It's because of our close professional relationship over the years."

Finally, as for his being a political person in a nonpolitical job, Gray replied that since leaving the navy he had "shunned local and state politics," a statement flatly contradicted in earlier stories on Gray carried by the same newspaper.

Last May Gray told the hometowners he was confident he would be named director of the FBI after the election. His run-in with the airline pilots may have eliminated him. Some friends say his refusal to bow to White House pressure on the FBI Watergate investigation has eliminated him. Then there is his recent stomach operation and the question of whether he can meet the physical demands of the job.

Gray himself recently told friends he doesn't think he will be nominated.

What the bureau needs at the top is a person of national repute, capable of working effectively at the highest levels of government, and symbolic to the public and the bureau alike of the nonpolitical character of the post. He need not be expert in criminal justice, security or intelligence, though he should be a man of unquestioned integrity and have the administrative and leadership qualities to rebuild bureau morale that began to fail during Hoover's later years. At the same time, he must, in conjunction with Congress, review bureau activities to determine what new personnel and operational priorities should be established. Though he certainly must bring in outside assistance, he must include the top Hoover men already there in such a review. In short, he must gain the confidence and support of those trained under Hoover while also questioning and perhaps revising the fixed old procedures under which they have been operating.

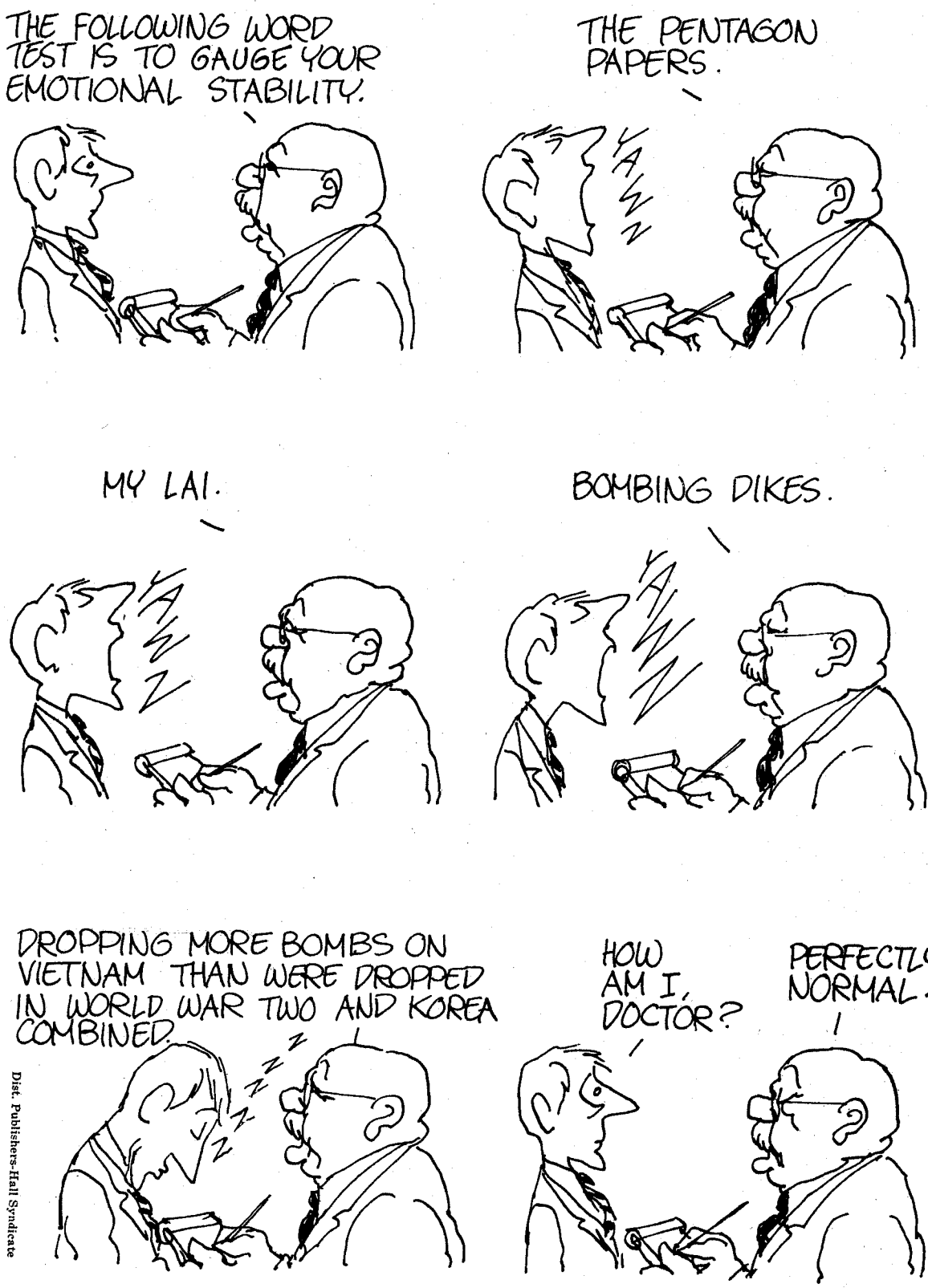
He should be responsive to proper direction from the White House and the Department of Justice, at the same time recognizing and establishing his and his agency's independence.

Such a man would not need or desire publicity—and thus would not have to spend time with the press. The public wants to have confidence in the FBI; that sense comes not from superficial public statements by its director but rather from the bureau's performance.

One man who fits the qualifications is Supreme Court Justice Byron White. Even former Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie, despite his political background, would be an improvement over Gray.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER


THE FOLLOWING WORD TEST IS TO GAUGE YOUR EMOTIONAL STABILITY.
THE PENTAGON PAPERS.
YAWN
MY LAI.
BOMBING DIKES.
YAWN
DROPPING MORE BOMBS ON VIETNAM THAN WERE DROPPED IN WORLD WAR TWO AND KOREA COMBINED.
HOW AM I, DOCTOR?
PERFECTLY NORMAL.

Dist. Publishers-Hall Syndicate

©1972 JULES FEIFFER 10-15

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Play It As It Lays

(Universal)

1776

(Columbia)

The consensus seems to be that the film of *Play It As It Lays* fails the novel. I disagree. The film is just as pretentious, posturing, empty, and, finally, commercially clever as the book. Nothing is so powerful as an idea whose time has come, said Hugo, and nothing is so wretched as the cheapjack exploitation of that idea. The vision of human life that was largely epitomized by Dostoevsky's Underground Man is now a signal part of our culture, even if we do not endorse it; but, as I said about *Butley* two weeks ago, there's a lot of utilization going on, a lot of opportunism in the void-at-the-heart-of-the-universe business.

The argument is not that an author ought to believe what his characters believe and then act likewise (committing suicide, as one does here); nor is it even the old respectable argument that nihilist art is a contradiction in terms. It is simply a question of bona fides. I felt from the first pages of Joan Didion's novel that the author thought she was on to a good thing, that Hollywood as absurdist hell hadn't been used in quite a while, and that she thought she could prove she wasn't just one more Hollywood debunker through the taciturn hyperthyroidism of her prose. Far from merely stating, or even watching herself state, a quantum of despair, she was watching me watch her. This effect takes writing past self-dramatization, which can sometimes be moving, to salesmanship.

Didion and her husband John Gregory Dunne wrote the screenplay and, it's said, selected Frank Perry to direct. Perfect. A phony serious novelist is naturally drawn to a phony serious director. To the mannered dialogue and ellipses of the novel Perry has added a vast array of by-now conventional film devices, stolen (before he got around to it) from serious directors and *already* adulterated, so that he isn't even a bright magpie.

The heroine, Maria, is played, of course, by Tuesday Weld, who has become our leading phony serious actress. Maria is herself a film actress. She has a mentally retarded child. She has meaningless affairs. She has an abortion. She is upset by the abortion. Her husband, a director, is making a picture and has little time for her. Her only source of sympathy is her husband's producer (Anthony Perkins) who is a—*guess!*—homosexual. No conviction is ever struck in us as to why Maria got into the sorry spiritual state she is in from the start. We are supposed to recognize the standard code signs—tinsel values, a world of plastic, etc.— and just nod understandingly when she comes *on* nutsy. Like an archetype in a medieval pageant, she is not a person but a sign, except that, like the heroine of another Perry picture, *Diary of a Mad Housewife*, Maria is a self-performer acting herself for an unseen audience. At the end she even addresses us. All this is by now stale in modern theater and film—stale, that is, when it is merely exploited, as it is here; fresh and infinitely useful when it is rooted in validity, as it is not here.

The most ludicrous scene in this occasionally ludicrous picture (a relief when it *is* ludicrous, and not repellent) is Perkins' suicide. He invites Weld to take some Seconal with him. Wistfully, she declines. He says something like "Still think there's some point in living, do you?", swallows a handful and lies down with his head pillowed on her lap to die. She cuddles his mortal coil as he shuffles it off in sleep. Two lost sheep, they are supposed to be. Two muttonheads they are, poseurs even in a moment of death, making despair shallow and stripping suicide of mystery or nobility.

Desolation is an immense and immensely grave subject in our century, but American filmmakers seem unable to deal with it, unlike such others as Antonioni and Bergman and Kurosawa. Insofar as talent can be isolated from other factors, it seems to me not merely a matter of talent but of national temper. (*Butley* is English, but that doesn't disprove the "rule.") No nation in the Western world is less in touch with reality than the United States. If that seemed true in Henry James' day, the events of this century have intensified it. (Does one need more proof of the reality gap than the recent election?) No nation has less of a tragic sense nor a greater saturation with the mythos of the TV commercial. Even if we don't actually believe that the new underarm deodorant will bring us happiness, our willingness to condone the myth, our tolerance of the mutual lie, is part of our reluctance to discard a life founded on fantasy. Those few who venture outside the fantasy frequently react like Virginia discovering that she has been lied to, that there *is* no Santa Claus; then they tend to convert the discovery into marketable goods, thus in their very disillusion supporting the illusion. (Compare Didion and Handke.)

The goal of good art is not solely to see who can make *angst* most convincing,

(continued on page 35)

Films Worth Seeing

Chloe in the Afternoon. Eric Rohmer's sixth Moral Tale concludes his series of gentle, esthetic insistences that there is more to love and sex than modernist reductions.

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. The New old Buñuel slyly slices open his favorite victims with diabolic wit to reveal—us.

The Emigrants. Max von Sydow and Liv Ullman in a well-made narrative of Swedes leaving Sweden for the US in 1844.

The Ruling Class. Peter O'Toole and a superb cast in a messy but well-written satire about a religious maniac who succeeds to an earldom.

La Salamandre. A funny, grave, important film. Two TV documentary writers want to write a script about a workingclass girl, but her reality is too much for them. Swiss, believe it or not.

The Sorrow and the Pity. Four and a half fine hours of documentary about wartime France and some survivors.

Why. Nanni Loy directs the excellent Alberto Sordi as a man who plunges, through judicial error, into the seven circles of Italian prison hell. Forget concocted horror films; this is real horror. SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert Brustein on theater

A Déju Vue Revue

London

The setting for *Behind the Fridge*, the new revue by Peter Cook and Dudley Moore, is composed of crude wooden furniture, portions of which have unaccountably been upholstered, and a movie screen fastened to the back curtain with giant safety pins and paper clips. The 18 sketches that make up this evening of satiric fun and games seem to be held together almost as precariously, and not a few of them have padding in odd places too. The show could certainly benefit from judicious editing—but more worrisome than its overall lack of shape is its generalness, its failure to locate a coherent point of attack.

This is not to deny the formidable gifts of its multi-talented creators. If the sketches lack form, they abound in content; if they occasionally wander a little aimlessly, they are overflowing with ridiculous characters, rich situations and zany humor. It is a little preposterous, just for starters, to find these underground wags cutting up in such an overdecorated, formal West End theater—Moore as manic and prankish as a young Jimmy Savo; Cook with the blinking impassivity of a stoned mortician. And their loose, casual satire mixes nicely with the unassuming home movies they have devised, under the direction of Joseph McGrath, to alternate, and sometimes to intercut, with the stage action. On the other hand, although it is over 10 years since the heyday of *Beyond the Fringe* and its offspring, *The Establishment*, this revue doesn't bring us much beyond the techniques and targets of these earlier triumphs.

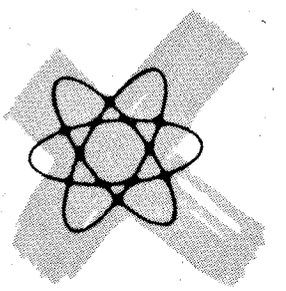
This results (as the arch title suggests) in a certain parasitism, with the authors borrowing freely not only from others but from themselves. A sketch called "Gospel Truth," using the recurrent interview format inevitable to such a two-man show, brings us Peter Cook as a biblical shepherd trying to keep his rams from copulating, and Dudley Moore as Saint Matthew doing a profile on Jesus for the Bethlehem *Star*. Matthew's research has led him to the discovery that Christ had a brother, Jimmy, who was the real carpenter in the family, and who told Jesus: "You save the world, I'll take care of the fitted cupboards." Much of this is inspired, but some of the inspiration, at least, is borrowed from Mel Brooks' Two Thousand Year Old Man who once told another historical figure, Joan of Arc, "You save France, and I'll go wash my hands." (The sketch owes something also to Cook's famous Establishment piece about an upper-class Christ being crucified between two grumbling working-class thieves.)

To cite another derivative example, one of the few topical skits in the revue brings us General Amin telling of his admiration for "my very darling, most wonderful best friend," Hitler, with whom he shares a hatred of the Jews ("They are swarming about the place, seizing all the money and stuffing it in their bloody violin cases"). This would be fine if it didn't remind us so much of an old Establishment skit revolving around Jomo Kenyatta telling his interviewer (in the same musical accents Amin speaks of having written "only last week to your Queen, Mr. Heath") of his ambition to be "the first Negro man to be the Queen of England." The later sketch also hints at how Prime Minister Heath has replaced Harold Macmillan as Peter Cook's favorite patsy (Moore joins him in his assault on Conservative politics by singing a satirical song, "Come closer, grocer"); but although the names have been changed, one can't avoid a slight feeling of *déjà vue*.

There are times, of course, when such echoes do not mar our enjoyment: Dudley Moore singing a hilarious pastiche of phony Brecht-Weill to Peter Cook dressed as Marlene Dietrich in *The Blue Angel*, with blonde wig, top hat and silk stockings; Cook employing his inimitable Oxbridge accent to satirize a Cambridge don enraged at the suggestion that he vary his lectures, rocking so vigorously on his heels that he does a cakewalk; Moore playing a narcissistic homosexual actor, who doubles as a charlady, lisping the part of Othello while Cook, in a barrister's wig, rehearses Desdemona. These are sufficiently cogent to be continuously entertaining, if not always surprising.

But, ultimately, *Behind the Fridge* seems oddly insulated. Aside from a rather feeble satire on women's lib, and a number of drag scenes (transvestism seems to be an obsession of London theater this season), the revue is pretty impervious to the social and political developments of the last 10 years. Britain is preparing to enter the Common Market; America is in a serious moral tailspin; racial conflict is tearing at our cities; Christianity is becoming dominated by Jesus freaks; the universities are reeling under student unrest. Yet, Cook and Moore are still doing bits on academic fuddyduddies, biblical mythology and Conservative pomposity. Archimedes once observed that he could move the world with his lever if he just had a place to stand. I think Cook and Moore might do almost as much with their satire if they could get a better purchase on contemporary terrain.

Power to the people



The Nuclear-Power Rebellion

Citizens vs. the Atomic Industrial Establishment

by Richard S. Lewis

Just what an angry America is doing to reduce thermal pollution of air and water and develop a safe national energy policy is detailed on the pages of this "compellingly formulated" (*Publishers Weekly*) book.

$8.95

THE VIKING PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constant Profits Rain or Shine

Economic Concentration

by John M. Blair

(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; $16.95)

Apart from private ownership, the central feature of the American economy is concentration, the blindingly obvious fact that several hundred great corporations dominate the economic scene. More and more, industries tend to be led by one megagiant, IBM, GM, GE, US Steel, DuPont. This leader engages in restrained, nonprice competition with two, three or five other sizable followers, some more efficient and some less than the leader, but all enjoying a relatively tranquil, protected life.

Each of these large concerns has considerable discretion over prices and output, each must take into account the moves of other, lesser corporate powers engaged in similar product lines. For a variety of reasons, mostly bound up with the bureaucratic urge for stability, the largest corporations do not seek to maximize profits, the motor of classical economics. Instead, they aim, and with remarkable success, at a constant or target rate of return, at "satisficing" rather than optimizing. Any skeptic about the ability of the megagiants to achieve their objective need only consult Blair. He has looked at the 1953 through 1968 performance of five crucial companies with known target profit rates. General Motors aims at a 20 percent return, after taxes, on stockholder investment, and averaged 20.2 percent; US Steel seeks eight percent and recorded 8.4 percent; Alcoa, subject to stiffer foreign competition, strives for 10 percent and achieved 9.5 percent; Standard Oil (New Jersey) wants 12 percent and got 12.6 percent; DuPont's target is 20 percent and it averaged 22.2 percent. These were years of boom, recession and stability but none made much difference to profits. In the 80 reporting periods (five companies multiplied by 16 years), at least three-fourths of the target rate was reached 65 times, a score of 81 percent. Taken together, the five firms came within three-fourths of their average profit objective in every one of the 16 years. This is economic power.

Concentration is not only pervasive, but growing. Between 1947 and 1968, the 200 largest manufacturing corporations expanded their ownership of all manufacturing assets from 47 percent to 60 percent. From 1947 to 1967, the leading 200 increased their share of value added by their efforts (total sales minus materials costs) from 30 percent to 41 percent. Out of deference to corporate sensibilities, the Census Bureau does not publish sales, assets and other pertinent data for a single company in an industry but hides their identity by grouping them in quartets. Thus measures of concentration are typically expressed in terms of the share of a market held by the four or eight largest concerns. In the 1947-67 period, the four largest companies expanded their share of output in 95 industries while declines for the top four were recorded in only 75.

The largest concerns, moreover, are linked by many bonds across as well as within industry lines. There are the familiar ties of interlocking directorates, with the same select few sitting on the boards of a variety of corporate giants. The trust departments of the biggest banks own significant shareholdings all across the corporate spectrum and have no incentive to encourage destructive, competitive behavior between firms in which they are interested. The modern giant, moreover, is rarely confined to a single industry. Jersey Standard is consequential in plastics; GM is decisive in refrigerators and locomotives. The big corporations deal with each other as privileged suppliers and customers. Single families—DuPonts, Rockefellers, Mellons—own important stock interests in industries outside the oil and chemicals associated with their names. In sum, the major firms are welded together by a concatenation of interests that insure a community of action.

Because the behavior of concentrated firms fits classical expectations so poorly, most economists have ignored its existence. Oligopoly theory almost begins and ends with Edward Chamberlin and Joan Robinson. A few economists, frequently on retainer from the largest corporations, have devoted their skills to denying either the concentration's existence or growth. John M. Blair is one of the handful who have insisted on the crucial importance of concentration. He came to Washington during the New Deal, rose to assistant chief economist for the Federal Trade Commission, wrote a definitive study of the international oil cartel and thereby insured his demotion during the Eisenhower administration. Blair then became chief economist to the Senate antitrust and monopoly subcommittee, sheltering under its remarkable chairman, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

The Blair-Kefauver team took as their starting point the neglected study by Gardiner C. Means of administered prices. During the depression, Means had discovered that prices in concentrated industries were held more or less constant despite a drastic plunge in demand. Instead of the price mechanism acting as a self-correcting force, declining demand in these sectors was reflected in a steep fall in output (and employment). The classical model could not allow this. But Means' work, known to Washington two years before Keynes, justified intervention in the economy by practical if untutored politicians.

Twenty years later, Blair and Kefauver set out to demonstrate that the administered prices of the concentrated industries were still plaguing the economy. They did so in an extraordinary and contentious set of inquiries into steel, autos, electrical machinery, drugs and other lines. After Kefauver's death, Phillip Hart of Michigan, a kindly man with a limited taste for combat, took over the subcommittee. He permitted Blair to direct an academic climax to the hearings, the collection of expert testimony on the implications of and possible solutions for the phenomena Blair and Kefauver had uncovered. Hart's cautious staff then persuaded him to fire Blair.

Now teaching at the University of South Florida, Blair has drawn on the subcommittee's more venturesome 41 volumes of hearings to produce a masterful synthesis of the theory and practice of concentration. His work must now stand as the single most important on the extent and consequences of a concentrated economy—yet, since its publication last June it has not received the attention it deserves.

In the postwar years, with their relatively shallow slumps, the megagiants have altered their price behavior. Instead of the inflexible prices discovered

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Means, Blair reports that the large corporations are now engaged in "perverse" price flexibility. When demand falls, prices are raised, not merely held constant. This is the logical consequence of a strategy aimed at constant returns, of seeking a more or less unchanged profit rate, regardless of the volume of sales. Blair has invented an ingenious test to make the point. He compares the price behavior of 16 pairs of products from 1953 to 1958, years of two recessions and one brief boom. Each member of the pair confronts roughly the same demand, but one product is in a concentrated and the other in an unconcentrated or competitive industry. Thus, pig iron, product of the concentrated steel industry, is contrasted with steel scrap, a sector of many suppliers; competitive natural rubber is compared with concentrated synthetic rubber and the like. During the first of the two slumps, price rises were recorded for 15 of the concentrated partners while decreases were registered by eight of the 13 competitive products. (No data was available for three.) In the second recession, 13 of the concentrated products again repealed the laws of conventional economics and increased prices. All 16 of their partners in competitive industries behaved by the book and registered declines.

It is this behavior that helps explain the failure of the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations to choke off inflation by the Keynesian device of curbing demand, by restricting federal outlays and curbing the money supply. Both succeeded in bringing about more or less planned recessions, Eisenhower in 1957-58 and Nixon in 1969-70. But prices continued to rise because of the strategy and power of the concentrated industries. Their role in the economy outweighed the price decreases that took place in the competitive sectors.

Unlike some of his economic advisors, Nixon is little troubled by ideology. As a result, he did an astonishing about-turn in August 1971, recognized the destruction of theory by facts and imposed controls. His attempt at an across-the-board freeze reflected an imperfect understanding of the facts; the prices that needed controlling were those in the concentrated sector alone. But policy is even now drawing closer to the real world and controls over smaller firms are being abandoned.

For popular commentators, this is a triumph of Galbraithian economics. In his widely read *The New Industrial State*, Galbraith underlined the infla-

Mary Renault's
superb new novel,

a companion to the best-selling *Fire from Heaven*, is the story of the last years of Alexander the Great—narrated by the beautiful Persian youth who has become Alexander's lover, confidant, and friend. A rich historical novel, both stirring and tragic, by the author of *The King Must Die*, *The Last of the Wine*, *The Bull from the Sea*, and *The Mask of Apollo*.
A Literary Guild alternate. $7.95

The Persian Boy

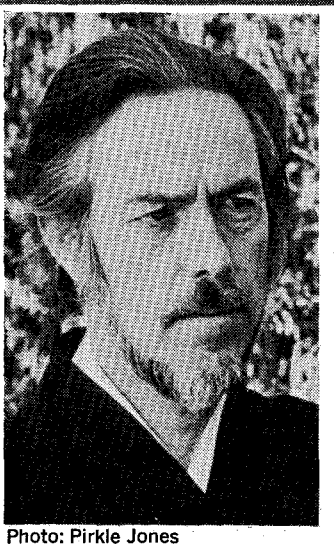
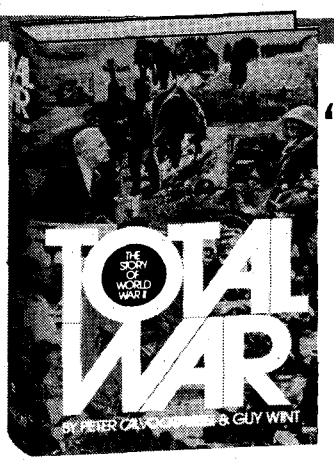


Photo: Pirkle Jones

Alan Watts
"A beautiful presentation as only the old master could do it." —JOHN C. LILLY

"Enthralling . . . a most engrossing autobiography . . . unlike anything you have ever read . . . Those who like myself have found the solution to at least one momentous riddle of the universe in each of Mr. Watts' memorable books will be enlightened beyond expectations by this chronicle of the web of interlacing experiences and ideas which have constituted his inner life." —HENRY A. MURRAY, M.D., Harvard University $7.95

In My Own Way
An Autobiography



"Here is a war book to end war books"
—A. J. P. TAYLOR, *The Observer*

"They have produced not just another book about the war or some aspect of it, they have written what must rank as the best historical work on it published to date." —M. H. FISHER, *The Financial Times*

959 pages. 64 pages of photos, plus maps. A Main Selection of the Book Find Club. $15

Total War THE STORY OF WORLD WAR II
by PETER CALVOCORESSI & GUY WINT
Now at your bookstore · PANTHEON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionary propensities of a concentrated economy. He argued, however, that large corporations are the inevitable product of technological advance. They alone, he insisted, enjoy the security and resources to invent and exploit invention. Therefore, if we want the fruits of technology we must leave the giants intact. Proper public policy consists of directly controlling their prices.

While Galbraith wrote, the stock market was taking his logic to new and absurd heights. Any combination was pronounced better than its separate parts. The merger of firms in aircraft, steel, meat packing, auto rentals, publishing, insurance, anything was regarded as a positive good. Hard-headed men talked exuberantly of "synergism" and the heroes of the day were apostles of conglomerate merger, Ling, Bluhdorn and Harold Geneen. That bubble, of course, soon burst and even Wall Street discovered that peculiar accounting practices—notably, deflating the cost of new acquisitions, the reciprocal of J. P. Morgan's watered stock—had created glowing if unreal earnings reports. The transferability of management, systems analysis, synergism and the rest of the hocus-pocus now bemuses only business school faculties and the willfully gullible.

But what of the established conglomerates like GM or GE? Are not AT&T, IBM and the others, as Galbraith insists, the inevitable product of technology?

Blair's most striking contribution is undermining the notion that efficiency and innovation are a function of corporate size.

If modern technology dictated size then one should expect the large corporations to operate giant plants, each enjoying economies of scale. In fact, a US Steel, a GM runs many comparatively modest-sized plants and the contemporary watchword for management is "decentralization." In the concentrated sector of manufacturing, among industries in which four or fewer firms control half or more of the output, Blair finds only one-seventh of the production coming from factories that match their parent company in size. Here alone can it be said that the "imperatives of technology" dictate concentration. Elsewhere, the top firms' share of output is considerably greater than the share of an equal number of top plants. This implies that the concentration of companies could be reduced without harming the efficiency of separate plants.

But what of centralized management, of bulk purchasing? Even if a megagiant runs many plants, won't its wise managers produce better results than individual companies operating each plant? The simplest measure of efficiency is profits and size. General Motors and IBM are more profitable than their competitors. But US Steel and Alcoa are not. Blair looks at the link between profits and size for 30 industries during 1966. In six—autos, textiles, business machines, paperboard boxes, brewing and iron and steel foundries—the relationship is clear and Galbraithian. But for eight others—steel, distilleries, aluminum, meat packing, plumbing fixtures, nonferrous metals (apart from aluminum), paper and bearings—the reverse holds true. The smaller the corporation, the bigger its profit rate. For the other 16 industries, there is simply no discernible pattern.

Still, the notion persists that the largest corporations, if nothing else, are the source of technological advance. Think of those glittering laboratories promoted in so much literature by AT&T, IBM and the others. Here, narrative must replace statistical evidence because inventions are not numerically comparable. Once again, however, the studies do not give any comfort to the worshipers of size. Perhaps the best known, by John Jewkes and others, traced the history of 61 important 20th-century inventions, each a major commercial or military success. Only 16 can be attributed directly to the organized research of large corporations. Jacob M. Schmookler found that firms with less than 1000 workers must spend only half as much on research and development for each pending patent as firms with 5000 or more workers. Frederick Scherer looked at the 500 biggest industrial corporations and similarly concluded that size and invention are not linked. The four largest companies, for example, accounted for 18.2 percent of the total sales but only 9.9 percent of the patents; the eight largest recorded 25.2 percent of the sales but held only 15.9 percent of the patents. Indeed, the hostility of large firms to major breakthroughs is well known. Thus, IBM rejected xerography not once but twice; AT&T saw little future in wireless radio.

As Blair observes, the frontiers of modern industry—new materials like the high performance composites, high energy batteries, electronics—typically require neither vast outlays of capital nor vast hordes of workers to exploit. They are intelligence-intensive rather than capital- or labor-intensive. Blair even argues that they are the harbingers of a second industrial revolution, containing "the seeds of destruction for concentrated industrial structures." This seems a trifle over-exuberant. Jersey Standard and the other oil giants still control the raw material from which the new plastics derive; GM is likely to absorb any new car maker attempting to harness new energy sources; and IBM eventually gets around to exploiting many electronic advances made by others. There is nothing inevitable about this; it is rather a question of power.

If concentration imparts an inflationary bias to the economy, stifles innovation and distorts the allocation of resources, what shall public policy be? Shall we suffer the giants' existence, either regulating their prices or nationalizing them, stripping away their private property character? Or should we break down these centers of nonresponsible power and recreate an atomistic economy?

Blair, something of a romantic and very much of a classically trained economist, comes down firmly on the side of competition: enforce the antitrust laws to inhibit mergers, to break up GM, GE and the others into their constituent parts. The existing laws are an excellent vehicle; they simply rust from disuse or misuse. Stand the regulatory agencies on their heads and make them perform in the public interest rather than as guardians for a privileged few. Thus, a CAB ought to encourage instead of discourage new airlines; an ICC must stop protecting rails from trucks and trucking firms from each other; the FTC must pursue steel manufacturers and stop worrying about misleading advertising in the pickle industry. Government is now a powerful force promoting concentration; it must change its ways. Instead of inventing quotas to prop up the price and market shares of steel, oil and other producers, it should welcome foreign competition. Instead of distributing its largess to a selected few, the Pentagon should seek

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out firms that might construct a weapon that works for a modest price.

Even if atomism were desirable, Blair's program strains belief. He appeals to history to demonstrate that every regulatory agency, after an initial burst of reforming enthusiasm, becomes the creature of those it is supposed to regulate. Why should we expect the Justice Department's Antitrust Division to behave differently? The Sherman Act has been law for 82 years; concentration, nevertheless, has increased. Surely this says something about the limitations of enforcement. It is futile to expect many FCC commissioners to damage the three networks; to expect FPC commissioners to treat utilities unkindly; to expect that Pentagon generals and civilian officials will place orders with the best rather than the biggest aerospace firms. This is not simply because commissioners, generals and lawyers look forward to post-government jobs from the industries over whom they nominally exercise power—although this is something Blair dismisses too quickly. Nor is it because they can be bought in office, although money in Washington is usually available for such purposes. At bottom, commissioners, lawyers and generals, like corporate managers, prefer a risk-free life—routine, comfort, security. None of these is likely to be attained by breaking up trusts and replacing them with disorderly competition.

It is not even clear that a competitive society, for all of its theoretical rationality in allocating resources, is that desirable, particularly in a country that already produces more than enough to satisfy a wide range of material needs. A briskly competitive order tends to nourish a destructive egoism, ruthlessness and other values that can make life even more unpleasant than it is. It is far from certain that people behave better when they are confronted with unemployment or bankruptcy because they have not worked as hard as others or guessed wrong about what a market will demand. Indeed, the struggle to escape from competition is so strong that in industries where concentration does not exist – construction, stevedoring, trucking, ladies' garments—employers have depended on unions to impose "rationality" and the unions have often turned to unsanctioned purveyors of violence to enforce the rules.

Although concentration may, as technology changes, rise or fall within a given industry, it does seem probable that it is a permanent feature of the economic landscape. Blair quite properly dismisses state ownership as a solution. Nationalization is now reserved for industries whose private owners can no longer extract enough from them —railroads in the United States and steel in Britain. The examples from Eastern Europe are plain. State ownership is useful for transforming backward economies into industrialized states, but then all the bureaucratic debits of the large private corporation set in, with few of their compensating advantages. Czechoslovakia, an advanced industrial state before the Communists came to power, is the prime case. As Ota Sik has shown, the country has experienced a steady decline in the marginal efficiency of capital since the takeover.

Which leaves regulation from a central government source, as opposed to the conventional regulatory agency, responsive to a single industry. As a second best, Blair is not unsympathetic to voluntary suasion, the guideposts or "jawboning" technique practiced by the Democrats in the 1960s. Aimed at a particular industry and backed by the authority of the President, suasion can impose a measure of price restraint. Largely as a result of Means' testimony before Kefauver's subcommittee, the Kennedy-Johnson economists concluded that rising steel prices were the fulcrum of inflation in the '50s and White House suasion was chiefly directed at them. Between 1959 and 1968 (surely 1961 would have been a more appropriate base), Blair finds steel prices rose less than one-tenth as rapidly as they did in the five preceding years.

But even this record does not wholly convince Blair and rightly so. In the '60s, steel prices had already risen so high that foreign imports began carving out a significant share of the market. So did competing materials like fiberglass and prestressed concrete. These restraints buttressed the White House effort. Finally, the technique seems to depend on the rare but impressive use of presidential appeal. This is self-limiting. The more it is invoked, the quicker the magic rubs off.

In private conversation, Blair has talked of directly controlling the price of leaders in a few asymmetrical oligopolies, those industries dominated by a few producers with one outstanding firm. General Motors, with twice the sales of its nearest auto competitor, is the leader of an asymmetrical oligopoly. The tire industry, with several more or less equally large competitors, is a sym-

AN AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD WANTS YOU AS A SPONSOR AND PERSONAL FRIEND

He's poor, cold, and futureless without your friendship. You have it within your power to lift one Indian child from the despair of appalling hardship to a brighter life of hope and joy and personal pride.

Sponsoring an American Indian child through Futures For Children works many wonders:

- Keeps "your child" in school by directly financing shoes, clothing, and other necessities. (Right now many Indian children have little more than the threadbare clothes on their backs.)
- Opens a new world beyond the reservation through a friendly exchange of personal letters.
- Provides hope, self-esteem and confidence — for the first time in your child's life.

Decide now to sponsor a young Indian boy or girl. It will be a rewarding experience for your entire family.

FUTURES FOR CHILDREN
5612 Parkston Road,
Washington, D.C. 20016

☐ Yes, I (we) want to sponsor an American Indian child . . .
☐ a boy ☐ a girl ☐ either

Enclosed is a check for $____ ($15 monthly; $45 quarterly; $90 semi-annually; $180 annually)

☐ Here's help, not as a Sponsor, but with a check for $_____

☐ Please send more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City—State—Zip _____ NR 72

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

metrical oligopoly. The point is neat. If I control prices for GM, US Steel or DuPont, none of their sizable but considerably smaller competitors will be able to charge more.

In his book, however, Blair does not discuss this approach and makes clear his distaste for direct controls, even over a selected few. They raise, he says, all the problems of utility regulation—determining what is a proper rate of return; whether to allow or disallow "wasteful" costs like advertising or annual model changes; determining the appropriate capital base on which return is to be calculated; translating a profit ceiling for a conglomerate corporation into appropriate prices for its many product lines; and, finally, the susceptibility of all regulators to the blandishments of the regulated.

These are valid objections. And yet Blair may be demanding too high a standard, just as the competitive ideal he holds out is somewhat quixotic. None of the technical objections he raises pose an insurmountable problem; workable if not elegant answers could probably be found, at least for the comparative handful of corporations whose prices it would be necessary to regulate. As for his political objection, the temptation of the regulators, there is at least one good reply.

In a world in which government openly acknowledges that inflation or its absence depends on the behavior of a limited group of corporations, one in which the government assumes responsibility for holding this group's appetite in check, an electorate would have no difficulty in fixing accountability. If prices continued to rise, with or without high levels of employment, those in office would have trouble pretending they were powerless. In responding to the siren calls of large corporations seeking to ease controls, elected officials would have to weigh future enjoyments in private life against the loss of office. This is precisely the calculation that is now absent from either government or corporate decision-making, an irresponsible process accountable to no one except largely self-perpetuating managers.

Blair has performed a task of monumental importance with great care and skill. He has explored, as no one before him, the major problems created by the economic power of the large corporation. From now on, it will be difficult to discuss these questions seriously without reference to his encyclopedic work.

Bernard D. Nossiter

Modern Castaway

Journal of a Voyage to Nowhere

by Charles Fenn

(Norton; $5.95)

Charles Fenn was a castaway about five months, but he experienced miseries and learned lessons in survival the author of *Robinson Crusoe* never touched on. Defoe after all was a confirmed landlubber for whom the sea was a purely literary passion. He never caught a fish; he never *tried* to. He never put a sail on the boat he made, though he had sail cloth. A horror of drowning obsessed him, he preferred horseback travel to other modes of getting around. But Fenn knows the sea. He began as a steward's boy for the Cunard Line, and rose to second barkeeper before he took a salesman's job in the US, and wound up in Ceylon as a newsman reporting the Asian developments of World War II. When peace suddenly came to that island, Fenn, at a loss for material, grabbed at a chance to join a young English friend in a 500-mile voyage from Ceylon to the Maladive Islands. Peter owned a 24-foot motorized sailboat that would have been described by Pepys as a pleasure craft, but Peter actually knew the sea as he pretended to know women.

In the Maladives Peter heard of an atoll said to be a treasure house of cowries. Rumor had it that a day's work gathering the shells would command $200 in the Colombo market. Unconvinced but good-naturedly refusing to be a spoilsport, Fenn joined his friend on this new expedition. It carried them hundreds of miles south of the Maladives and turned into disaster as a storm carried Peter overboard. Coming out of a nightmarish sleep and expecting to relieve Peter at the wheel, Fenn discovered he was alone and dependent on his amateurish sailing knowledge to keep the boat from smashing against a nearby limestone reef. The engine was useless, probably waterlogged. He finally dropped into the sea with a rubber dinghy that would serve as float and shield and two canvas-covered bundles holding blankets, water containers, food, clothing and other necessaries. A wave threw him and his dinghy atop a coral island that was shaped like a doughnut and had a pool at its center. After the violent seas had let up, he swam out to his bundles as Crusoe swam to his wrecked ship, and succeeded in retrieving them. He assumed Peter's boat had sunk.

His months on that atoll were occupied with the how and why of survival. At first the how was the overwhelming problem. Unlike Crusoe's island Fenn's atoll grew neither corn nor rice and supported none of the animal life which in its turn had supported Crusoe. Fenn had to ration his food in the face of a prodigal appetite and even though he could subsist on a pint of water a day he expected his supply to run out in 16 days. He had a few matches and, as he found, no talent for primitive methods of making a fire. The rainy season came late, forcing him to salvage half cups of drinkable stuff from sea water he boiled for hours. Fishing in the lagoon his island enclosed, he managed after a succession of failures to catch three fish. He also captured a small turtle that had been washed up. The storm that brought this bounty was succeeded by a tidal wave that swept away part of the atoll and would have carried Fenn off too had he not lashed himself to the upper reaches of a coconut tree.

The rainy season finally rescued him from thirst as fish, turtle meat, ripening coconuts and insects had rescued him from hunger. He even reached a stage of adaptability that enabled him to eat dead fish without being laid low by ptomaine poisoning. He built shelters on the ground and in the tree to protect his belongings from future storms, preserved some of his turtle meat by salting it, and smoked the rest in a fire that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crept forth with unbelievable delay as he crouched for hours holding a broken bottle in the sun's rays.

In spite of these occupations he had time to brood and to weigh the means and attractions of suicide. With each day rescue seemed a dimmer possibility. His signal fires sputtered out, and the banner he fastened to his coconut tree was not seen by the rare ship that steamed by. His loneliness, besides, was far more intense than Crusoe's, for the Defoe hero had an old dog that faithfully sniffed at his heels, a parrot, a clutter of goats and cats. It is incredible, given even this much companionship, that Crusoe should have survived whole decades on his island without falling into early senility or going insane. Fenn had a few books but little else except the habits of a disciplined writer to keep his mind off disaster. Writing in his journal day after day preserved his literary gift and probably saved him from overwhelming self-pity besides.

Fenn has command of a graceful style that doesn't get out of hand even when he writes of shock and terror. If he is no match for Defoe as a storyteller, he is at least more sensitive to moral issues than Defoe and Crusoe together (Crusoe, who was adept at spouting the Gospel, was on a slave-hunting voyage to Africa when he was shipwrecked). Despite a taste for quoting, he is the self-tutored sage rather than the bookman. It is the collaboration of the sage and the adventurer that gives his *Journal* its rare charm and pungency.

James Walt

Mao Tse-tung: Permanent Revolutionary

Mao and China: From Revolution to Revolution

by Stanley Karnow

(Viking; $10)

Mao's Way

by Edward E. Rice

(University of California Press; $12.95)

In the recent spate of books on China none equal these in combining research with relevance. Stanley Karnow and Edward E. Rice have sifted and synthesized an incredible mass of material on the Cultural Revolution which convulsed China from 1966 to 1968, with aftershocks continuing down to 1971. The two books complement one another in interpretation and are equally essential for two different levels of understanding China's immediate past and imminent future.

Karnow lived in Hong Kong from 1959 to 1969, working for *Time*, then *The Saturday Evening Post*, and finally *The Washington Post*. *Mao and China* upholds his well-earned reputation as one of the most diligent and disciplined reporters in Asian journalism. Rice began his career in China with the American foreign service in 1935, accidentally escaped the McCarthy-Dulles purges, and fortunately returned to his main interest in the Kennedy administration. After three years as deputy assistant secretary of state for Far East affairs, Rice became the US consul general in Hong Kong in 1964 where he remained until mid-1967.

Karnow recently left the *Post* to freelance and lecture. Rice spent his final year of service as "diplomat in residence" on the Berkeley campus, subsequently retiring in the Bay area. Happily, in writing these books neither author took the conventional easy path of an "I was there" rehash of articles and dispatches. Their books combine American and foreign scholarship on Chinese Communist history, virtually everything that emerged between 1966 and 1970 in translations of the prolific Red Guard polemics, as well as contemporary journalist reports from Peking, chiefly Japanese. Karnow mixes a lucid summary of the main events and contending factions with vivid first-hand accounts drawn from personal interviews with refugees and uniquely revealing Red Guard reports of mayhem. Rice offers a more complete recapitulation, enriched by the wisdom and perception of a lifelong immersion in Chinese society and American bureaucratic politics. But at either level of detail China's most recent agony is authoritatively depicted in its fullest, harshest lines of internecine struggle at the top and urban anarchy at the bottom.

Perhaps wisely, neither author attempts an overall reassessment and projection; yet it is impossible to relive the years of cruelty and carnage without doubting the credibility and durability of Mao's ethos, so universally hailed in word if not in deed throughout China today. Contrary to the assertions of skeptics and sympathizers, this was no Chinese opera with masked demons and mythical heroes. Real purges of the touted "Long March" generation decimated more than half the leadership of government, party and army. Mao succeeded in his call to "put destruction before construction" and to "bombard the headquarters" which allegedly plotted "Khrushchev revisionism and the restoration of capitalism." Rice documents in full detail the central role of Mao's wife, Chiang Ch'ing, both in implementing pre-violence maneuvers and later in repeatedly inciting the most radical elements to use force, including weapons. Her role appears so important as to warrant revising his title to "The Maos' Way."

Still unexplained, however, is the seeming contradiction between Mao's periodic admonitions against violence and the persistent identification of his wife with extremism. The contradiction continues with Chou En-lai emerging as Mao's lieutenant and apparent successor despite strongly suggestive evidence of past pressures on Chou by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Citizen's Guide to Nuclear Power

Ralph E. Lapp's three-part series on the nuclear plant controversy and Mr. Lapp's earlier article "Where Will We Get the Energy?" are now available as a 68-page booklet, including a previously unpublished introduction by the author. Price (including postage and handling): 1-10—85 cents per copy
10-50—75 cents
over 50—65 cents

Address orders to:
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, NW • Washington, DC 20036

Prepaid orders only

HOLIDAY BOOK SPECIAL

It won't be long until the Christmas holidays, and you'll want some good books, at low prices, for your own reading pleasure as well as gifts to friends. Here are some special buys from The New Republic Book Stall that give you high value and large savings. Order three or more for 50% savings. Cash only and the postage and the handling is on us!

The New Exiles by Roger Neville Williams. $6.35 (publisher's price $7.95) The inside story of American war resisters in Canada, America's first political refugees. No. 0085

40 Days With The Enemy by Richard Dudman. $4.75 (publisher's price $5.95) The story of a journalist held captive by guerrillas in Cambodia. No. 0088

McNamara—His Ordeal in the Pentagon by Henry L. Trewhitt. $6.35 (publisher's price $7.95) The chief diplomatic correspondent of Newsweek tells how one extraordinary man arrived at the levers of power and how he performed there. No. 0089

Thirty Years of Treason selected and edited by Eric Bentley. $9.95 (publisher's price $15.00) Excerpts from hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-68. No. 0092

Political Brokers edited by Judith G. Smith. $6.35 (publisher's price $7.95) This book investigates the people and pressures that interact to shape government policies. No. 0097

The Memoirs of Marshal Zhukov. $9.95 (publisher's price $15.00) This is an important book for understanding the role of the Soviet military in the USSR today. No. 0090

Mail to:
The New Republic, 381 W. Center St., Marion Ohio 43302

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for the books listed by number

_____ _____ _____ _____ _____

Please mail the books at your expense to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Chiang Ch'ing's followers, at one point even threatening his life. Moreover Rice and Karnow amply demonstrate that she was not the only radically inclined intimate of the Chairman, although most of the others subsequently fell, allegedly for "ultraleftist" plotting against Mao himself. Foremost of these was Ch'en Po-ta, chief ideologue and scribe for Mao, whose key journal, *Red Flag*, sounded the official call to attack the army leadership in August 1967. In April 1969 Ch'en rose to the top political group, the Standing Committee of the CCP. Only two years later he disappeared amidst charges of having belatedly been "uncovered" as leading the "ultraleftist conspiracy" of 1967.

The evidence meticulously amassed by both authors clearly implicates Mao with the "ultraleftists," his periodic reversals apparently resulting from confrontation with moderates in the army and with developments which threatened China with civil war. In 1958-59, Mao's massive miscalculation, the radical "Great Leap Forward," brought China's economy near collapse. Only when his colleagues abandoned its most drastic measures was the situation saved. But no such coalition succeeded in forcing Mao to quit at the first signs of failure and incipient anarchy in January 1967. Not until July 1968 did he finally sanction martial law as the only way to restore central authority throughout China.

Today Chiang Ch'ing is prominent in the official hierarchy together with her two radical protegés from Shanghai, the starting point of Mao's surprise attack against the Establishment and consistently the most extreme example of change. Chou's relationship with this trio seems superficially correct but Rice and Karnow suggest it is substantively strained. Domestic and foreign policy in the aftermath of Mao will depend on the outcome of struggles between coalitions of individuals and groups whose future alignments seem logically determined by their past interaction. The depth of conflict resultant from the Cultural Revolution was dramatically revealed in the fall of 1971 with the disappearance of Lin Piao and top military commanders. Subsequent official accounts claim Lin plotted against Mao, then tried to escape to the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately neither Rice nor Karnow could solve the many mysteries raised by the 1971 crisis since it occurred when both books neared completion. However the inability to convene a National People's Congress,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

repeatedly forecast since 1969, together with the disappearance of many elevated to high party posts as recently as April 1969, including Mao's self-chosen successor, amply supports the underlying motif of both books: Mao succeeded in destroying much but he has constructed little.

China will not fall apart or revert to warlord rule. Throughout the grim struggles of 1967-68 all groups vied for supremacy with explicit reference to Peking as a source of direction, whether by Chou, Chiang Ch'ing or the symbolic Mao. The army remains sufficiently cohesive for internal discipline and external defense, despite the political purge of four chiefs of staff in 12 years and divergent orientations among ground, air and naval commanders. Even within the battered party and government no bandwagon psychology prompted major defections to Mao's cause. On the contrary, Karnow and Rice trace the heroic and devious means whereby military and civilian elites systematically resisted the Red Guard threat of anarchy. Mao's failure provides an ironic but important testimonial to the remarkable rejuvenation of China's political system after 1949, in constrast with the chaotic interregnum of 1911-48.

True, Mao's followers overwhelmed the party and paralyzed the government in 1967. But victory was pyrrhic and short-lived. It revealed the unwillingness of youthful rebels to accept any leadership and discipline, in part, as Rice suggests, because Mao's design lacked specific guidelines and clear criteria for distinguishing leaders from led and right from wrong. Moreover it prompted the army to brutal repression, massive deportations and summary execution of those who had acted under the most Maoist and idealistic motives.

Finally, the struggle revealed the hollowness of Mao's oft-quoted remark, "I am alone with the masses." In contrast with Peking's pretensions to having created a "new man," Karnow details the bloody clashes between workers and self-styled Maoist youth with explicit analogy drawn to hard-hat attitudes elsewhere. Meanwhile the peasants shrewdly sealed off the countryside with roadblocks to continue their farming undisturbed. With each succeeding setback, the Mao-center scapegoated more of its members and escalated its attack, shrinking its leadership force and enlarging its opposition.

It proves easier to describe than to explain "Mao's Way." His revolutionary vision, rooted in the phenomenal success of leading 40,000 beleaguered guerrillas, isolated in Shensi province in 1935, to rule all China in 1949, is seen by Karnow and Rice as central to his refusal to compromise with the reality of China's limitations and perhaps with the limitations of man in modern society. True, Mao is the permanent revolutionary above all else. Yet he also appears to be a reckless romantic whose repeated miscalculations in the face of near universal collegial opposition defies the laws of politics and economics. Still he remains China's supreme symbol of leadership, and in such areas as ideology, education, health and perhaps foreign policy, exercises a commanding influence. Clearly the final assessment of Mao cannot yet be made.

These two books are a sobering re-

California, This Is Minnesota Speaking

I tell my friend in California
I am so in control
my dream is
to be slightly out of control.
He understands, he's from California
and tells me
he has beaten up his wife at a party
and runs a nude group
and when he taught at medical school
dispensed drugs to hopheads.
(As kids in New York we played
stickball, drank Mission Orange
and ate Devil Dogs.)
I tell him I've been to the edge
of myself a few times,
and the atmosphere there is rarefied
and terrifying,
I ask him what's it like
to live there, on the edge,
and he says "Listen, I'm becoming a sad
old man, save your romantic bullshit
for some midwesterner,"
and, standing here on the flat land,
I sense what he means,
solid ground beneath me, never a chance
that the wild gesture you begin on Tuesday
will be more than thin air
on Wednesday, the perpetual safety
of unfinished business.
And I say "Listen, my shoulders
sometimes want to leave for the moon,
this peace in my gut is expensive,"
and he starts to talk about the price
of ecstasy,
the fact that there's no middle
where he is, no place to return to
except either up or down,
and I can hear seagulls on his end
of the phone, the surf, the daily redefinition
of the state he's in,
and I want to let myself drift
out of control, toward him,
toward the dumb, childish universe
where you open a door and walk in
and no one's there except yourself
and you say hello and see if you can survive.

STEPHEN DUNN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minder of how little the world knew about the clashes and crises which affected every province and most cities of China. Only four years later guided tours and controlled conversations suggest that in some respects the world's oldest and largest society remains more remote from external view than in the days of Marco Polo. These circumstances make especially valuable the sensitivity, patience and sheer effort by which Karnow and Rice have illuminated the central arena of politics at a critical juncture when China approaches the transition from Mao Tse-tung to his successors.

Allen S. Whiting

The Bitter Silence of the Ik

The Mountain People

by Colin M. Turnbull

(Simon & Schuster; $7.95)

Among the central concerns of anthropology are the rare, isolated bands of nomadic hunters and gatherers which have not yet been absorbed, or violated, by the modern world. Although they have adapted to a variety of habitats, the different hunting-gathering societies studied have proved remarkably similar. It is a requirement of survival that the hunter remain alert to the slightest fluctuations in his environment and that he be equally responsive to the needs of his fellows. Dependent upon one another in every dimension of their lives, hunters are profoundly social beings; interaction within the band is marked by generosity, trust and mutual concern. Inasmuch as the anthropologist seeks an image of himself in these contemporary ancestors, the reflection returned has been comforting.

Colin M. Turnbull's first book, *The Forest People,* a study of the BaMbuti Pygmies, is one of the most engaging and evocative books ever written about hunter-gatherers. A grateful guest in the world of the Pygmies, Turnbull wrote on their behalf, providing at once a celebration of their world and a quiet lament for the inevitability of its passing.

In the hope of gathering comparative data on another hunting-gathering society living in an environment radically different from the dense rain forest of the Pygmies, Turnbull undertook the research reported in *The Mountain People,* a study of the Ik who inhabit a desolate range of mountains in northern Uganda. But he arrived a generation too late. Thirty years earlier the Ugandan government had declared their traditional hunting ground a game sanctuary and had severely restricted their movements, thereby condemning them to an agricultural life to which neither they nor their parched mountains were suited. Reduced to trespassers in the only world they knew and left defenseless against hunger, the Ik ceased to be responsible to one another. Upon arrival in their mountains, Turnbull found them "as unfriendly, uncharitable, inhospitable, and generally mean as any people can be." The social qualities usually so apparent among hunters were no longer there. In their struggle against starvation the Ik had shed them.

Dedicated to "the Ik whom I learned not to hate," *The Mountain People* is an alarming and strangely beautiful account of two years spent among the miserable shades who had survived the extinction of their society. Paradoxically, by asserting a vision of the fragility of the thinly woven net of mutual need, obligation and concern which supports the "humanity" of the individual, the book contributes more to our understanding than another study of hunters in their native state would, and it confronts us with an image of man, in his most reduced condition, which is chilling and familiar.

The fall of the Ik from the gentle, unchanging world of the hunter was shockingly sudden. Turnbull was unable to discern any community of belief or ideals and constraints of a shared morality. Under the pressures of exile and hunger, the social unity had divided against itself, reducing the Ik to solitary, hostile individuals. The only value they held in common was individual survival at whatever cost. Their language defined "a good man" as "one who has a full stomach."

The bonds one might have expected to be strongest, those within the family, proved the least functional in the struggle for personal survival, and were among the first to be severed. Not even the sort of love born of dependence, as might be observed among any other primates, was evident among the Ik. Mothers abandoned their young after nursing, denying any further responsibility, and the starving aged were regarded with indifference. As relationships fractured and human interdependence was denied, all feeling seemed to go dead. Their only source of pleasure was the misfortune of others, and the book is full of anecdotes describing their malicious humor—the laughter of men who watch an infant burn itself in a fire; the joking of children who pluck half-chewed food from the mouths of their starving grandparents.

In a curious way, Turnbull's research resembles more the work of an archeologist puzzling over lifeless fragments than it does the work of an anthropologist among his contemporaries. Wherever he looked he found only absences—the cold hearth, the vanished gods, the bitter silence. Only among the old, refugees from another world, was he able to detect traces of "humanity": dim memories or occasional gestures toward one another. As the famine advanced during his second year in the field, they all died ungrieved, and "that passionless, feelingless association of individuals" became self-perpetuating. The young who survived infancy passed

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

BERNARD D. NOSSITER *is the London correspondent for* The Washington Post *and author of* Soft State *(Harper & Row).* JAMES WALT *teaches English at the University of Maryland.* JAMIE KALVEN *is a young free-lance writer in Chicago.* STEPHEN DUNN *is a teacher of creative writing at Southwest Minnesota State College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through a harsh process of desocialization, during which they learned the one lesson the Ik had to transmit: the futility of community. Turnbull describes them "cold-bloodedly surviving without wishing anyone else any harm or good."

Later when he returned in a time of plenty Turnbull found that an abundant harvest from untended fields and the establishment of government relief had only exacerbated the condition of the Ik. The transformation from social being to individual being was complete and irreversible. Although the Ik remain together, held by a lingering attachment to their mountains, their society appears beyond renewal. The most chilling passages describe groups of Ik sitting in sullen silence, as if drawn to one another by a nostalgia for words to a song they cannot remember.

Early on, Turnbull assures us that he went into the field without any preconception or theoretical commitment. Perhaps not. Yet the book is disfigured by a brief, concluding chapter, which argues that the "civilized world" is following the lead of the Ik though for different reasons (the dislocation between technological development and social evolution) and with less integrity. Intended to shock the reader into a recognition of his own potential for inhumanity, this rushed and simplistic argument short-circuits one's response to the plight of the Ik and obscures the very real values of the book. We cannot help seeing our own potentialities in the Ik, but that recognition is generated by the jarring force of the concrete detail with which Turnbull has sketched their condition rather than by polemic.

Toward the end Turnbull remarks, "One had to live among the Ik and see them day in and day out and watch them defecating on each other's doorsteps, and taking food out of each other's mouths, and vomiting so as to finish what belonged to the starving, to begin to know what had happened to them." It was his central achievement never to avert his eyes.

Jamie Kalven

Coming:

Ann Wood reconsiders
Henry James' *Daisy Miller*

In Brief

The John Collier Reader
by John Collier

(Knopf; $10)

We may still believe in God—our money and our pledge of allegiance say we do—but few nowadays believe in Satan. True, we can muster up a pharisaical contempt for antisocial behavior; we can generate a proper Republican shudder at breaches of law'n'order; and of course any sexual naughtiness still provides a spasm of titillation or moral indignation (which T. S. Eliot said is "the favorite emotion of the middle class"). But despite the current bumper crop of public and private evil, no one could make even an election issue of it, recently.

This is regrettable—not merely for moral or political reasons, but for esthetic ones. "The death of Satan was a tragedy," Wallace Stevens observed, "for the imagination." True indeed. Evil in art, which had always been primarily human, became merely human and then became mere error, maladjustment, environmental deprivation . . . or it was sentimentalized and glorified by such as Genêt. Perhaps only in the writings of Nabokov, now, is evil occasionally to be found pure. John Collier has glimpsed it, however; evil flickers in and out of his best stories.

His latest collection is distinguished by the inclusion of the fine novel *His Monkey Wife*—which is about precisely that—as well as 47 of his short stories. Their basic style might be described as that of a perceptive, educated and witty Wodehouse:

> Edward deposited his bags in Mergler's Hotel, which stands opposite the funeral parlor. After a minute or two, he stepped outside and checked up on the signs.
>
> "Why, you low-down, snooping bastard," she began, and the conversation continued with the utmost vivacity.

His material is obscured too often by obsolescent theological equipment—angels, devils, meaningful coincidence, the supernatural, etc.; but at his best Collier deals in sharply observed psychological evil, the evil that men intend toward one another . . . or, more often, that men and women intend toward each other. His treatment of the subject is characteristically brief, ele-

YOU'RE WHISTLING IN THE DARK...

IF YOU THINK THAT HEART DISEASE AND STROKE HIT ONLY THE OTHER FELLOW'S FAMILY.

GIVE... so more will live HEART FUND

Contributed by the Publisher

"SPIGOTRY *has reached the college curriculum, you should know. Boise State College scheduled a seminar on 'grantsmanship' this month, 'designed for any person, agency, organization, city or county interested in getting through the red tape' and into the trough. No seminars for taxpayers have been scheduled.*"

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. M, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016. nr

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gantly stylized and comic; he persuades us *not* of the reality of his tale, but of the probability that real men and women might feel and do such evil things. When read in heaps, the stories tend to display their machinery rather immodestly, but as a Christmas gift, a bedside book, this book is fine; and *His Monkey Wife* is a wonderfully sustained feat of imagination.

A Man About the House by Ward Dorrance

(University of Missouri Press; $5 cloth, $3.50 paper)

Hard to know what to call this—gothic romance?—but it's an elegant performance, a 100-page story of a hunchback and a madam, with the "house" all nice and cozy, chickens in the backyard. The hunchback "thinks blue," which means that his past sometimes becomes so intertwined with his now that the two are indistinguishable. The madam, he discovers, thinks blue too, so they make a fine team and the story progresses through a series of flashbacks into both their lives. Ward Dorrance's feat here is in making human the arbitrary and grotesque, and he does it with great skill. There are occasional lapses: sometimes he overworks his workings by repeating tricky thoughts and details; and his ending is also disappointingly tricky as he strives to make a surprise out of the foreordained. But the tale remains a considerable artistic event, one of the year's few good ones.

Moving On/Holding Still photography by Peter Simon text by Raymond Mungo

(Grossman; $12.50 cloth, $4.95 paper)

This latest offering from the Vermont communards (Ray Mungo's third of the year) is distinguished by Peter Simon's sensitive and imaginative photography. The collection contains shots of Simon's communal family (both in "family albumesque" style and in seriously artistic poses), the Tree Frog Farm and surrounding countryside; other sections portray the world from which these folks have escaped, photos from earlier, social-comment days.

The entire collection is enclosed by poems by Richard Wizansky and Verandah Porche, respectively, while each chapter has a wild text by Raymond Mungo—a poem, anecdote or epigram. Strewn around are titles such as " 'dog' is only 'god' spelled backwards" and "you'll never get past the trees."

Finally come the notes, some technical, that Simon has made on his photos, not the least important part of the collection, but unfortunately not always in sequence with the pictures either. It is here that many of the pictures' inhabitants are identified or captioned (often by a favorite Dylan line); and for those who have been following the antics of these characters since Liberation News Service days, it's fun to put faces with now familiar names. Also, purchase of this book just might help to keep them together.

Charlie Flowers and the Melody Gardens by Fred Howard

(Liveright; $6.95)

When Charlie Flowers was born the vaudeville act of The Two Flowers became The Three Flowers. But the act folded in Charlie's fifth year when his mother went insane and his father began to run out on him. The scene was Chicago. Charlie was turned over to his penny-pinching grandmother and grew up working for his board. He worked for a time in a drugstore to pay granny's bill there; from an assortment of oddballs he learned to tap dance and to act; and as the depression deepened he began to work in earnest in a department store where he met the Girl. They marry, have a baby, the baby dies, the Girl leaves and marries another and becomes a boozer. As the curtain falls we see Charlie heading off for World War II. The moral?

The moral is that a novel of many interesting brief incidents and lively minor characters has to have more than that. It has to have central characters of substance. Charlie and his Girl don't make it. Charlie is just a good observer and nice guy; the Girl is a false voice with strong and unprovoked opinions. When their affair takes over, the novel, which has many peripheral virtues, stops.

Correspondence

Pollock Reconsidered

Sirs:

I simply cannot conceive of Kenneth Evett's review of B. H. Friedman's book, *Jackson Pollock: Energy Made Visible* (*TNR*, Nov. 18), being written in the 1970s. I had thought that the battles concerning the quality and content of Pollock's art had been fought and won but obviously I have grotesquely underestimated the power of *retarditaire* thinking along this question.

Evett's view of Pollock merely elucidates the hackneyed myths that were thoroughly discredited in the scholarly work of the 1960s. First, the myth that Pollock was some sort of uncultured, loudmouthed bum who constantly got drunk and while in such a state, challenged everyone in the immediate area to a fight, was replaced, in large measure, by a much more sympathetic view which portrays the artist as the victim of serious psychological disorders. His chronic alcoholism was simply an indication of more developed problems which lay beneath the surface. For this affliction, the artist sought professional help and had been making some progress; but when his doctor died in 1950 Pollock soon returned to drinking. The idea that the artist was unsophisticated about culture or art must be seriously questioned when we read the accounts of people who were close to the artist: people like Lee Krasner, the wife of the artist; Anthony Smith; or Alfonso Ossorio. He seems to have been quite intelligent and lucid about art when he wanted to be; his ideas were not the philosophical statements of a Motherwell but the rather mystical, apocalyptic phrases with which he felt most comfortable. . . .

We must also question Evett's rather glib assertion that the majority of Pollock's work can be classified "simply as energetic, hypnotic decoration." My God, is this statement a comment on the quality of connoisseurship of the author? If anything, Pollock was a metaphysical artist achieving in his works, as Alfonso Ossorio has stated, the merging of two cultures, a meeting of Eastern contemplation and Western action. Inevitably, when dealing with Pollock we must ask ourselves, why did the artist paint. Why did he take the trouble to commit something to canvas? I believe that the answer to this lies in the relationship between Indian sand painting and Pollock's drip paintings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a statement, Pollock once talked about the similarities between Indian sand painting and his drip technique but I believe that there was even a closer similarity other than mere technique; this was on purpose. Sand painting was an effort by Western Indians to control and eventually do away with disease; first the artist-medicine man depicted the demon which was troubling the sick and then destroyed the painting hoping that this would also destroy the disease. In effect this is precisely what Pollock was doing. We should look upon his works as attempts to exorcise the psychic demons that were plaguing him; he believed that by pictorializing the horror that he was daily haunted by, he might banish it from existence much as the Indian artist-medicine men sought to do. The fact that the works of Pollock are painted on unsized canvas and that they will eventually crumble away to nothingness is not due to any kind of stupidity on the part of the artist but is a conscious decision on his part. The Indian sand paintings were created in order to be destroyed; Pollock sought to do precisely the same thing with his paintings. . . .

Richard T. Diekmann
Department of Art
University of Maryland

TRB

Sirs:

TRB, usually so rational and level-headed, appears to take almost Pollyannaish heart from the statistics which show that the average American now spends 12.1 years in a school classroom (*TNR*, Oct. 28).

The evidence about us, unfortunately, does not support his optimism: the youth revolution is a fizzle or maybe it always was a figment of a lot of writers' imaginations; 13 percent of our much-educated populace is still considered functionally illiterate; and all those twelfth graders being turned out by US high schools appear to have no problem passively accepting corruption in government as a US way of life; drugs, violence, crime are mounting, not just in the slums, but in the "better" educated neighborhoods. All this wasn't learned by these students from their formal education, but it also doesn't follow that the uniquely American feat of keeping kids in school for 12 years is all that much to crow about or even hope about—not unless some big changes are made in what's done in those 12 years.

Dorothy Rich
The Home and School Institute
Washington, DC

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

but surely one essential of good art is, even under its comedy, some genuine acknowledgement of the shape, accidents, conditions, and limitations of living. One American film in recent years convinced me in this regard: *Wanda*, by and with Barbara Loden (*TNR*, March 27, 1972). But of course Wanda is not a self-dramatist, she simply *is*; she is a prole, so her story can be dismissed as a dated revival of '30s style; she doesn't live on Central Park West or in Malibu, so we don't "recognize" her furniture; and we can't get any safe vicariousness from her trip down the Golden Slide because she isn't on one. Didion and Perry supply what the New Middle Class wants in this line: despair with a (figurative) percentage of the gross for the audience as well as the filmmakers.

1776 is about the beginnings of this country, the drafting and signing of the Declaration of Independence—still a momentous historical event, no matter what happened to the promises in it. On Broadway this musical was the most expensive high school show ever produced, whose sole amusement for me was in seeing how they managed to squeeze women and sex into this stag affair.

On film, the squeezing, which should have been easier, seems more clumsy. The irruption of songs into political meetings seems more grotesque (and need not, as was proved far back in 1931 in *Congress Dances*, Erik Charell's musical about the Congress of Vienna). And the historical distortions, silly enough on stage, seem offensive.

I think this is because the film is more patently aimed at children, is even released at the holiday season to be more easily available to them. A few of the distortions: The film has 35 signers of the Declaration; in fact there were 56. The film has them all lining up to sign on July 4; in fact the first signature was on August 2, and the last man to sign, recently elected, hadn't even been a member on July 4. James Wilson, the Pennsylvania delegate to whom the script gives the decisive vote as one of three Pennsylvania delegates, was in fact one of seven (and was by no means the nonentity he is called). And some critics have said that, whatever this film's faults, at least it deals with our history!

Dramatic license? Oh, sure, we know all about Shakespeare and Schiller and Brecht, to name only some top names who have distorted history. But if one exercises dramatic license, then one must at least produce drama. This is a flaccid and stilted book accompanied by one of the least memorable scores in the history of the musical, so the historical distortions are egregiously in vain.

The devisers have flubbed another fact that might have helped, atmospherically and theatrically. It was always notable to me that eight of the signers were born in various parts of the British Isles. James Wilson, for instance, was born and educated in Scotland and must have had a Scottish accent. This diversity of accents could have added historical point and theatrical flavor.

But that would have been too much to ask of the people who give us a wildly moronic Richard Henry Lee (the man who introduced the original resolution for independence!), a vapid Jefferson, and a Benjamin Franklin from Brooklyn. Peter H. Hunt's mechanical and derivative direction is even worse than it was on stage.

Books. More good reference works. (It's feast or famine!) A few years ago I got copies of Georges Sadoul's *Dictionnaire des Films* and *Dictionnaire des Cinéastes*, published in 1965, and have had a lot of help from them. Now they are translated, updated, and enlarged—by Peter Morris—and I expect to get even more use from them. The University of California Press has published each in cloth and paperbound editions. *Dictionary of Films*, $16.50 and $5.95, respectively; *Dictionary of Film Makers*, $14.50 and $4.95. The two works are interrelated; when an asterisk appears after a title in the second book, it means that there is an entry devoted to the picture in the first book. *Films* is the one whose function is not covered by either of the two good new encyclopedias discussed here three weeks ago, but both of these Sadoul books are worth having.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personals

SLEEP—Without pills! Simple exercises. $1.00 complete. Laurel House, 1188 Laurel Lane, Phoenixville, Pa. 19460.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Receive 4 Will Forms and attorney's 64-page booklet, only $1.50. ("Personal Assets Record" and "Executor's Duties"—FREE.) Legal Forms, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

DON'T BLAME ME—I VOTED McGOVERN buttons! 2/$1, 5/$2. Hottrain, Box 441-B, Carrboro, N.C. 27510.

SANTA STAMPS

Say Merry Christmas to all your friends with a Santa Rubber Stamp. $1.75 small size (shown) $1.50 large size (⅓ bigger). STAMP PADS—$1.50 pre-inked pads only $1.25 with stamp purchase. Specify red, green, blue or black. FAST DELIVERY.

SULLIVAN ADVERTISING COMPANY
16 North Central
Clayton, Missouri 63105

FEMALE TEACHER, 57 desires correspondence with cultured gentleman, 45-60. Must like travel, music, camping, adventure. New Republic Box 6360.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS for people who wish they lived in Massachusetts. Bumper stickers read: "We Nixed Nixon, Massachusetts 1972," $1.00 ea. Buttons read: "Massachusetts The Lone Star State," $1.00 ea. Quantity discounts. Englert Associates, 18 Salem St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

WIDOW, ATTRACTIVE well-educated, spirited, late 40's desires companionship of man possessing comparable "joie de vivre" San Francisco Bay area. New Republic Box 6355.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016, (301) 320-3536.

SLEEP-LEARNING: HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24—NR, Olympia, Washington.

PENFRIENDS. For free information write: Papyrus, Box 458NE, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27102.

A SEVERELY UNDERPRIVILEGED SPANISH-AMERICAN child in New Mexico needs you to sponsor him. Correspondence, visitation, $180. per year. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016.

Personals

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th Street, New York 10016.

HOROSCOPE: 10-page report. Send birth information, $10.00: Michael Wood, 17 Perry Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½' x 2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, California 90307.

CIGARS—MISS YOUR HAVANA CIGARS? New Havana Seed tobacco lets you enjoy the old Havana flavor. Free brochure—write AFCO CIGARS, P.O. Box 5111, Tampa, Florida 33605.

ALPHAPHONE® headset—brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, California 95460.

OUTSTANDING imprinted personal stationery. Social-professional. Idea-Packed sampler-catalog—25¢. Jacques Stationery, Box 395-N, Wallingford, Vermont 05773.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566 N, Ojai, California 93023.

Peace Personals

SPREAD A HAPPY FEELING with a HAVE A NICE DAY bumpersticker. Beautiful four-color sticker with daisy design. 2/$1.00, 5/$2.00. Sullivan Advertising Co., 16 North Central, Clayton, Missouri 63105.

Peace Personals

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

CHRISTMAS CARDS: proceeds go for medical aid for Asian Victims of the Indochina war. For brochure write: Arizonans for Peace, 1414 S. McAllister, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

PATCHES & APPLIQUE (over 200), POSTERS (over 275, many anti-war), BUTTONS (135), BUMPER STICKERS (50) and other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with Pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

Literature

CAMPAIGN BUTTON BOOK. 1000's priced/pictured. $5.00. Erickson Sales, 3915 Carpenter, Bronx, New York 10466.

FREE CATALOG—Hundreds of used books. Most subjects. Chadde, 1625-NR Jordan, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27105.

ARCHAEOLOGY NEWSLETTER. Fascinating! Ask for illustrated circular, or send $3.50 for year's subscription. Otto Reiss Press, 243 East 39 Street, New York City 10016.

Have Something to Sell?

Write your own classified for just $6.00

For only 60¢ per word your 10 word classified ad will reach more than 400,000 readers. There is no limit in length so be as prolific as your budget allows. Use the form below to send us your order.

Please run the enclosed advertisement _____ times in THE NEW REPUBLIC. Advance payment of $_____ is enclosed.

_____

_____

_____

(See rates next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Literature

MARGINS: for perspective on the literature you seldom see—the small press. Bi-monthly, $2.50/12 issues. 2912 N. Hackett, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211.

NONSMOKERS! Read book *Stop Blowing Smoke in My Face!* and send to offending smokers. $1 pp. Nonsmokers' League, "B," Columbia, N.J. 07832.

THE NATION, the 107 year old weekly still ahead of its time. Carey McWilliams, Editor. Try next 4 issues for only $1.00! *The Nation*, 333 Sixth Ave., Room 601, New York, N.Y. 10014.

FREE BOOK, Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, New York 14619.

30% DISCOUNT ON NEW BOOKS LISTING FOR $10 OR MORE. 25% off those under $10. Add 39¢ handling. BOOKQUICK, B-6, Roseland, NJ 07068.

OPEN-MINDED? May we send you some unpopular questions and answers about smoking and health? Write for free booklet, "The Cigarette Conroversy," Dept. TNR, The Tobacco Institute, 1776 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

Literary Services

NOVELISTS: Newly-formed legitimate (not vanity) press, headed by ill-tempered, pedantic director, seeks unpublished novels written to instruct, ennoble, vivify, and enchant their readers. Please do not send your manuscript; send, rather, a well-made argument for its publication. C. B. Rykken, Director; The John Colet Press; P.O. Box 661; Madison, Wisconsin 53701.

LIBRARY INFORMATION. Research by professional librarians. All fields. Box 8202, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphic-copy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11011.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE" BOOKMANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Foreign Studies

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week non-political non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 10 West 46th Street, New York, New York 10036 (212) 581-8113.

Employment Opportunities

SELL NATURAL VITAMINS—Become a distributor of Century All-Natural Vitamins. Write Century National Products, 126 NW 1st Ave., Dept. NR; Fort Lauderdale, Fla. 33301.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-N, Belmont, California 94002.

Employment Opportunities

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $2.00. Informex, NR, Box 55361, Houston, Texas 77055.

Business Opportunities

FOR SALE—MEAT PROCESSING PLANT fully equipped and wholesale food distribution business. Located in the heart of growing resort area. Homemade ice cream store fully equipped and three bedroom apartment on the property. For details write: New Republic Box 6330.

Spare Time

STUFF ENVELOPES. Average $25.00 Hundred. Immediate earnings. Beginner's Kit, $1 (refundable). Lewcard, Box T392NR, Brea, Calif. 92621.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs! I tell you what to write, where and how to sell, and supply lists of editors buying from beginners. Small checks can add up to worthwhile extra income. Write to sell right away. Send for free facts, BARRETT, Dept. C-456-N, 6216 R. Clark, Chicago 60660.

Property—Sale/Rent

FOR SALE: WOODBURY, CONN. 1747 Saltbox, 18 acres, garage apt., 3 horse barn, beautiful countryside. FOR RENT: Colonial farmhouse, furnished, caretaker, 240 acres, swimming pool, year's lease. Norah Preston, 10 St. Ronan Terrace, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FORESTED PARCELS ON BEAUTIFUL STREAM—Northern California—Sierras. Private customed parcels average two acres. Unique small plan. Natural beauty, stream area, trees protected by restrictions. Four remaining, first portion. Most sold to New Republic readers. Several similar parcels available soon, providing nearby stable and graze. Excellent riding, swimming, fishing. Dramatic mountain view. National Forest borders sides. Year around paved access. Between Almanor and Antelope Lakes. Write owner. H. Page, Taylorsville, California 95983.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U. S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D. C. 20036

Vacations/Travel

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21 J Bell, Bayside, New York 11361.

Gourmet/Cookery

WINE & HONEY CURED, smoked pheasant. Unique, exotic. Satisfaction guaranteed. $12.60 postpaid east of Mississippi, $11.70 west. D/D RANCH, DeBeque, Colorado 81630.

VERMONT MAPLE SYRUP made the old fashioned way with family and horses. Hand block printed labels. Free brochure. Peter Watson, Benson, Vermont 05731.

WILD GAME cook book (with Smoky Mountain flavor) $2.00. Lakeshore, Concord, Tennessee 37720.

Arts and Crafts

TIRED OF PLASTIC GIFTS? Give Pacific Driftwood Mobiles! Apartment size, $5.50; Regular size, $7.50; Mobile Kits, $3.00. Postpaid, prompt shipment. Drift House, 4337G Cottage, Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

PORTRAIT HEADS IN PENCIL SKETCH. Adults-children-pets from studio photographs or suitable snapshots. $50.00 on your approval. Send photos (returned) to: Portraits, Star Route #2, Box 370, La Honda, Calif. 94020.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Records/Tapes

EVERYTHING ON OPEN REEL! Thousands of pre-recorded classical/popular tapes. Latest releases. Discounts. Complete new 96-page catalogue $1. Barclay-Crocker, Room 333K, 11 Stone Street, New York City 10004.

Music

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE. Quality instruments and kits: Dulcimers ($20 up), Psalteries, Banjos, Thumb Pianos; books, records, HERE, Inc., #N, 410 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

BURTON HARPSICHORDS—Professional instrument in kit form, Burton Jacks (patented) $195.00 to $650.00 Write Herbert W. Burton, 917 "O" Street, Box 80222 (N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

CLASSIFIED RATES

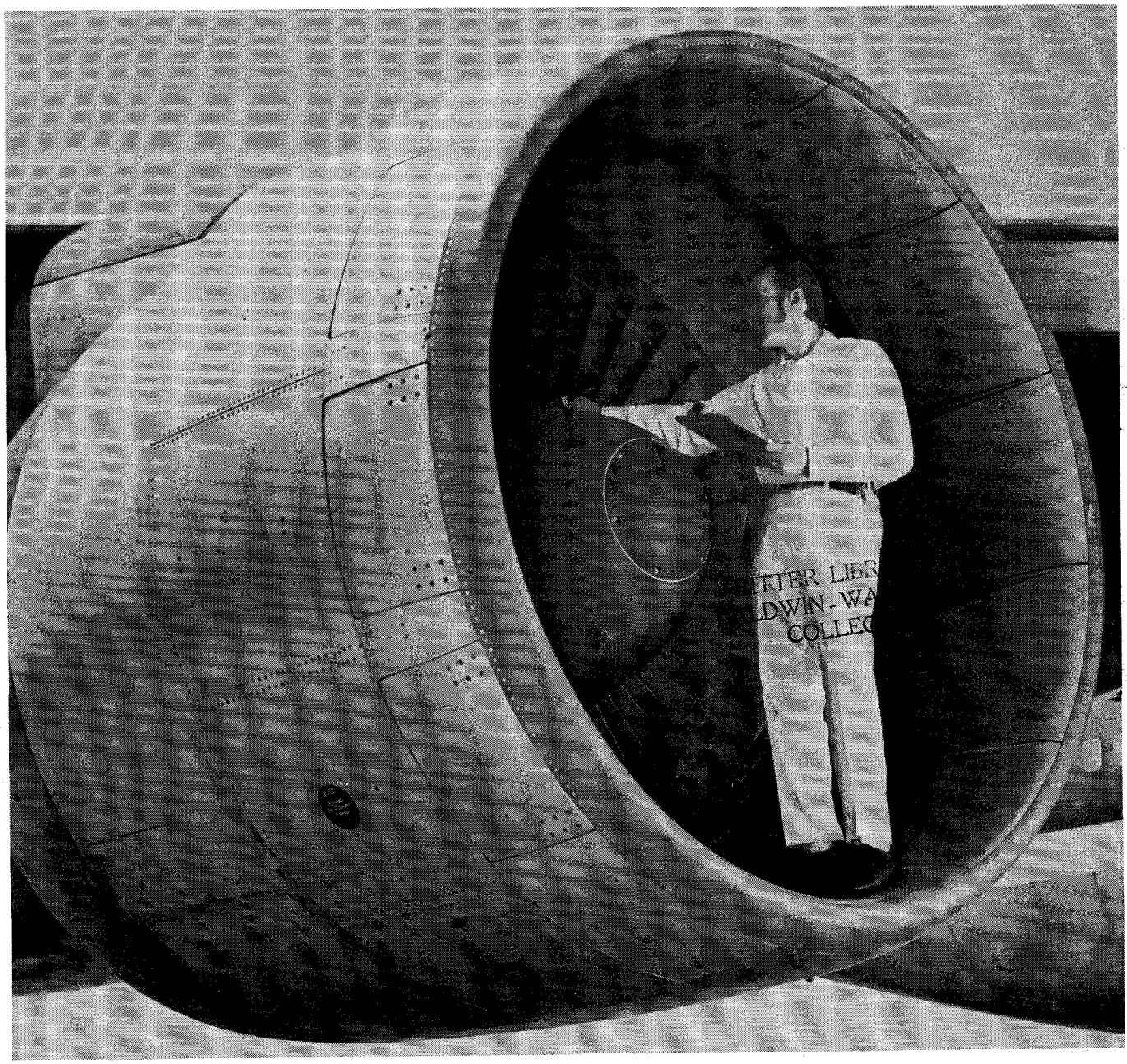
Per word (single insertion) ..... 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year..... 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year ..... 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year ..... 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year ..... 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Our newest no-smoking section.

DEC 5 197

That's right. The engine. On our newest planes—the wide-bodied jets—the engines don't smoke at all. And the older jets are smoking less.

Why? Because we've invested millions of dollars to reduce air pollutants from our engines. Though emissions from scheduled airliners are only 1.2 percent of the nation's total, it's still too much for us—and you.

Airline people are using all their skills and imagination to make air travel cleaner, quieter, smoother and more efficient. Devising computer systems to speed, protect and monitor your baggage. Automated ticketing. Ways to move you through the airport faster.

It's a big job, and a costly one. And it carries a big question mark—where will the money come from? The answer depends on earnings. Yet consider this: in only one year since 1961 have the major airlines earned what the Civil Aeronautics Board calls a "fair and reasonable" return. And most years they haven't even come near that mark.

How can we bring about the future you want? You can help by understanding the challenges and problems. For facts about the airline industry, write: Air Transport Association of America, Dept. 106, 1709 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

The Airlines of America

The Shortest Distance Between People

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED